# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-047
Friday
12 March 1993

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## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-93-047* *12 March 1993*

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## Kravchuk Discusses Problem of Ukraine's Nuclear Missiles

*OW1103160893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1533 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk by INTERFAX correspondent Boris Grishchenko; place and date not given; by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The solution of the problem of strategic missiles in Ukraine is to a great extent being hindered by the "dead-end" formulation of the crucial question, said Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in an exclusive interview with special Interfax correspondent Boris Grishchenko.

The Ukrainian leader pointed out that Kiev has been suggesting to Moscow that it sign an agreement according to which the Russian Federation would have the right to carry out technical and other supervision of strategic missiles located in Ukraine. The president recalled that there are 130 such missiles in the country. He also added that there are another 46 missiles, though they are staffed by Ukrainian specialists jointly with their Russian counterparts.

In order to open the way for Russian personnel to supervise the missiles, Ukraine is being asked to agree that all such weapons on its territory are to be the property of Russia, explained Kravchuk. But there is a law passed by the Supreme Council of our country, recalled the president, which states that everything on Ukrainian territory is the property of our state. Russia has the same sort of law, he said. "Would Ukraine ever lay claim to missile complexes located, say, in the Tambov oblast?" In the opinion of the Ukrainian president, in order to solve these problems, "we should not change laws, but rather find fundamentally new approaches to the question." In particular, explained Kravchuk, Ukraine could lay claim not to the entire value of the given missiles, but only to a part of the value of the materials in the missile warheads.

The full interview with the Ukrainian president will be published in coming issues of Interfax Presidential Bulletin.

## Progress of Russia-Ukraine Nuclear Talks Discussed

*LD1103154093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[From the "Ukrainian Diary" program]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] For several months Ukraine and Russia have been holding negotiations on the issue of guarantee of nuclear and ecologic [as heard] security of strategic forces which were located on Ukraine's territory back in the period of existence of the Soviet Union. These days head of the Ukrainian delegation, Yuriy Kostenko, made a statement which discovers the reasons of the slow course of the negotiations. Anatoliy Levskovskyy with more on that:

[Levskovskyy] Speaking about various aspects of life in the Ukraine we informed very little our listeners about the contents of the Ukrainian-Russian negotiations on the nuclear weapons located on our territory. These talks take place in turn in Moscow and Kiev. The initiator of the talks was Ukraine, but the Russian side was delaying the beginning of the negotiations in every way possible. Thus, for instance, through the mass media Moscow began to spread rumors that the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukraine's territory are allegedly in a breakdown condition. These allegations were refuted by Ukrainian military experts. The thing is that Russia insists on servicing the strategic nuclear weapons located on Ukraine's territory. In other words Russia wants to get permission for the Russian servicemen to stay on the territory of our republic. Certainly Kiev cannot agree with the foreign troops stationed on the Ukrainian territory.

Secondly, Russia wants to force Ukraine in refusing from its right of ownership of the nuclear missiles, strategic bombers and nuclear warheads and giving [as heard] all of them under the Russian jurisdiction. [passage omitted]

A removal of nuclear weapons from Ukraine to Russia also has a financial reason for Moscow. The thing is that the cost of the uranium in one out of 1,280 warheads of the missiles stationed in Ukraine alone is about 6 billion dollars. Apart from this the 176 strategic missiles which have remained in Ukraine after the dissolution of the Soviet Union contain about 1,300 kg of gold and 31 tonnes of silver. And this is an important source of the convertible currency which is so necessary for the Ukrainian economy, which is in a deep crisis now. [passage omitted]

## CIS Heads of Government Begin Session in Moscow

*LD1203094393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0928 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—A session of the Council of CIS Heads of Government has begun at the President Hotel in Moscow on Friday [12 March].

Delegations from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Moldova and Tajikistan are led by prime ministers, while the governments of Kyrgyztan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are represented by delegations led by vice-prime ministers. A delegation from Azerbaijan is taking part in the session as an observer. The session is also being attended by chief commanders of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

Opening the session, the Russian Vice-Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin said that the Russian prime minister was attending the congress in the Kremlin and that he would arrive at the session later.

Shokhin reported that a plane carrying a Ukrainian delegation had failed to land either in Vnukovo, or Domodedovo airports because of bad weather conditions and landed in Bryansk instead. As soon as the weather improves, the Ukrainian delegation led by the Chairman of the Ukrainian Government Leonid Kuchma will arrive in Moscow, Shokhin said.

Today's session of the council is chaired by Moldovan Prime Minister Andrey Sangeli.

The agenda of the session includes 16 issues. The prime ministers are to adopt resolutions on the protection of industrial property and the establishment of the inter-state council for the protection of industrial property, on coordinated anti-monopoly policy and to discuss issues of the economic development of CIS member states for 1992 and preparations for a draft document on the coordinative-consultative committee of the CIS and a number of other problems.

### Session Agenda Outlined

*LD1203102593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0801 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—A session of the CIS Council of Heads of Government opens here today. The main task of the session is to continue the creation of the legal foundation of equitable and mutually advantageous economic cooperation of the sovereign republics and to restore the economic ties, disrupted as a result of the disintegration of the USSR.

The discussion of an agreement on anti-monopoly policy will be one of the main items of the agenda. The session is expected to set up a working commission for outlining a common anti-monopoly policy within the CIS framework. It is planned to create a single patent service which will make it possible not only to protect the rights of inventors and the priority of inventions, but also to promote broad exchange of information within the CIS framework.

The agenda includes two items dealing with military matters, which are important for ensuring high combat preparedness of the CIS allied armed forces.

The heads of government will discuss the joint struggle against organised crime, the criminal situation in the system of transport, corruption, drug addiction and the prevention of the smuggling of strategic raw materials from the CIS.

Participants in the meeting are going to discuss and approve a number of measures for preparing the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. The measures include the organising of ceremonies, the issue of a single memorable medal on the occasion of the anniversary, which will be given to war veterans, as well as the publication of "memory books." They will also discuss a possibility of recognising all over the new Commonwealth the right of the disabled, war veterans and people who are within the same class with them, for lower train and air fares.

### Council Agrees on Measures

*LD1203102693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1014 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The CIS Heads of Government Council, meeting here today, had by noon completed the discussion of twelve out of the sixteen items on its agenda. They include an agreement on measures to protect industrial property and to set up an inter-state council charged with this task, as well as the problem of concerting the anti-monopolistic policy and the question of setting up of a council to coordinate the work of the inter-state television and radio company.

The prime ministers have decided to launch preparations for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), and also to provide more privileges to Second World War invalids and veterans. The meeting is to discuss two more most important items—on the economic development of CIS countries in 1992 and on the progress of work to draft a status for the Commonwealth Coordinating and Consultative Committee.

The Ukrainian delegation, led by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, has still not arrived. ITAR-TASS was informed that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is was also absent, because he is busy at the Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin.

## Shaposhnikov Meets With Military Industry Aides

*PM1203120793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

[CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command Public Information Center report: "At CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, met with a number of leading general designers and representatives of Russia's military industry on 9 March. The meeting discussed the question of strengthening business links between enterprises of the Commonwealth countries' military-industrial complexes, in the context of the forthcoming 12 March session of the Council of CIS Heads of Government.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 12 Mar

*LD1203070493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0646 GMT 12 Mar 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 12 ITAR-TASS—The second day of the work of the 8th extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies is in the focus of attention of Moscow newspapers.

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA writes in detail about the debate at the Congress and calls attention to its heated character. Diametrically opposed views were expressed during the discussion on the key problems submitted for the consideration of the Congress. Calling for agreement, the newspaper carries a selection of materials on the first and second days of the Congress under the heading "agreement is necessary for today and for the future." It published full texts of the speeches made at the Congress by President Yeltsin and speaker of the parliament Khasbulatov, as well as reports in detail the work of parliamentary groups and the press centre of the congress. ROSSISKAYA GAZETA carries the full text of the report, made at the Congress by deputy chairman of parliament Nikolay Ryabov.

Summing up some results of two days of the work of people's deputies, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA comes to a pessimistic conclusion about prospects of overcoming the political crisis. "The Congress will not settle the political crisis, even if it results in temporary reconciliation. At the same time, we shall not be able to get out of the economic crisis, while we are in this political deadlock," the newspaper writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and PRAVDA focus their attention on the speeches of President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and Speaker of Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov on the second day of the Congress. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that the reports were necessary as a way to reach compromise, which was rather difficult, in the opinion of the newspaper, while PRAVDA announces that "the president's political defeat became obvious at the Congress." At the same time, PRAVDA urges people's deputies to display "firmness, consistency, loyalty to the Constitution and vigilance," which, it believes, "can save us from a tragedy."

Newspapers publish numerous foreign comments on the work of the Congress. Summing up the opinions of foreign observers, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes: "It is understood in the world that the point at issue is not only the distribution of political power, but also—to a far greater degree—the future of the Russian reform and prospects of the development of the political and economic situation in one of the largest countries of the world."

ROSSISKAYA GAZETA carries an interview with Major General Vitaliy Gritsan, commander of the Russian frontier guard troops in Tajikistan. He firmly spports the resolution, under which Russian frontier guard troops will render assistance to a number of CIS member states in defending their frontiers, and pointed out that he would do all he can for fulfilling the mission assigned to him, which consists in "closing the border, preventing the penetration of bandit groups, terrorists, arms, narcotics and contraband goods, along with observing neutrality and avoiding interference in the internal affairs of the republic." "I shall not permit to set the border afire," General Gritsan stressed.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Norbert Schefer, official representative of the German Government, who said that "the development of German-Russian relations is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of united Germany."

PRAVDA carries an interview with Yegor Ligachev, former Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who believes that "Russia's prospects for the forthcoming several years are no good at all." He is sceptical about Western assistance to Russia and supports the consolidation of all communist forces in Russia. In his opinion, this is "the call of time."

### Government Opposes New Yugoslav Sanctions

*OW1103162993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1534 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia does not share the U.S. administration's view that the embargo on oil and other supplies to Yugoslavia should be stepped up, a highly placed Russian Foreign Ministry representative specializing in the Yugoslav crisis told Interfax.

"We have always been in favor of sanctions imposed on the former Yugoslavia being gradually reduced and removed at the first opportunity," he said. "Belgrade is currently adopting a positive line on the main aspect of the peace settlement. It supports the Vance-Owen plan and is holding consultations, including public ones, with representatives of the Bosnian Serbs on whether or not to accept the plan. This is why there is no reason to raise the issue of increasing sanctions," the representative said.

The diplomat added that those sanctions which had already been introduced must be implemented "with adequate severity" and should "not be full of holes". However he said that the established restrictions should not be exceeded. Meanwhile some of the restrictions proposed by Washington "are virtually new sanctions which were not provided for by the appropriate UN Security Council resolutions," he stressed.

The foreign ministry official pointed out that the world community must watch carefully how the arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia was being observed. He said that Russia was not alone in raising this issue and had been backed by a number of nations. "In other words," he concluded, "an understanding that the Yugoslav crisis must not be approached unilaterally already exists."

### Fedorov To Attend Hong Kong G-7 Meeting

*OW1203014393 Tokyo KYODO in English 0121 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow, March 11 KYODO—Russian Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov said Thursday that Russia's requests for aid from the Group of Seven (G-7) major industrialized nations will "carry greater specifications."

Russia's INTERFAX News Agency reported that Fedorov plans to accept an invitation to the Hong Kong meeting this weekend of G-7 countries. The meeting is to prepare for the Tokyo economic summit in July.

"Mainly, it is not necessary that quantitative parameters of aid be indicated, but that specific mechanisms for its allocation be developed," INTERFAX quoted Fedorov as saying.

Fedorov said, however, that conducting reforms in Russia does not depend on Western aid. "Regardless of whether or not it is granted, (reforms) will be conducted. But with aid it will be easier to carry them out."

INTERFAX also reported that President Boris Yeltsin "will naturally not attend" any special meeting of the G-7 that is not held at the very top level.

The news agency quoted a high-ranking Russian government official as saying Moscow welcomes the idea of an emergency G-7 summit.

Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa's comment that he prefers a meeting at the level of finance or foreign ministers, however, did not arouse enthusiasm in Moscow "especially if it means that in Tokyo, Russian affairs will not be discussed separately," the official was quoted as saying.

The official told INTERFAX that Russia proceeds from the understanding that U.S. President Bill Clinton, French President Francois Mitterrand and other G-7 leaders are interested in a personal meeting with Yeltsin.

### Helicopter Fires Flares at Japanese Boats Near Kurils

*OW1103144293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russian helicopter fired six warning flares in the direction of Japanese ships fishing in the vicinity of the island Kunashir [Kunashiri] (one of the islands of the Kurils archipelago).

Gennadiy Dolin, administration head of Kurils District in Sakhalin Region, said six Japanese fishing vessels were spotted catching fish at the island's northern extremity, two of the ships fishing too close to the shore within Russia's three-mile zone.

After the warning flares were fired, the Japanese vessels left the area and the incident did not have any further developments.

### Incidents Explained

*PM1103174393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 3*

[Report by Colonel Timofey Leshchev of Far Eastern Military District Press Center: "Missiles Not Fired and Intruders Not Detained"]

[Text] Recently the "Mayak" radio station hastened to give its listeners the "frightening" news of Russian helicopter pilots allegedly firing six missiles in the direction of the Japanese islands.

In actual fact everything was much simpler. Back on 2 March the commander of an Mi-8 helicopter, Captain Tishchenko, recorded the violation of the border of

Russian territorial waters by two Japanese fishing boats. He indicated to the intruders the way out of Russian territorial waters by firing two shots from a flare gun. The following day, when there were now 13 Japanese boats, and in similar circumstances detachment commander Major Pisudskiy also fired from a flare gun, which in no way can be compared to the use of live missiles.

Both incidents occurred in the region of Iturup Island. In both instances the intruders left Russian territorial waters unpunished, which has now become the norm, even though the violations are documented photographically.

### Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Angola Situation

*PM1203125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 93 First Edition p 3*

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "World Community Gives Savimbi Last Chance"]

[Text] "At present there is no place in Africa where there is a more dangerous and contradictory situation than there is in Angola," a high-ranking Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stated at a meeting with journalists.

From what he said, the world community is faced with the difficult task of normalizing the situation in Angola. The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] antigovernment grouping and its leader, J. Savimbi, are deliberately continuing hostilities against the lawfully elected authorities. Completely innocent women and children are suffering. In two months of fighting over 15,000 people have died in the vicinity of Huambo alone.

According to international experts' assessments, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, if hostilities continue in the country, 2-3 million people will fall victim to starvation. In many provinces, administrative centers are inside a tight ring of opposition formations. Humanitarian aid flights are running a great risk inasmuch as airports and runways are constantly in UNITA's sights. Incidentally, An-12 and An-32 airplanes with Russian crews are carrying out this work. Filipp Bore [name as published], a representative of the UN World Food Program, gave a high assessment of the Russian pilots' actions. "They are brave people. They never refuse to perform the most difficult flights," he said.

Answering a question from IZVESTIYA, the Russian diplomat stressed that all attempts to make Savimbi resume negotiations with government representatives are failing. Diplomatic attempts by representatives of the United States, Russia, and Portugal to normalize the situation in the country have been practically exhausted. A document specially adopted at a meeting of this "threesome" in Lisbon stresses: This is UNITA's last chance to put an end to the escalation of the civil war in Angola. Otherwise, it is generally believed that the world community will have to adopt punitive measures to curb the aggressor, which could involve the introduction of international UN peacekeeping forces.

Despite the complex military-political situation in Angola, the search for the Russian and Ukrainian hydraulic engineers who have been missing since November of last year is continuing in the area where the Kapanda hydroelectric power station is being built. Unfortunately, so far it has not been possible to obtain new information.

The Foreign Ministry leadership's spokesman told journalists that none of the Russian citizens working in Angola has been injured in the past few days. Our embassy in Luanda is monitoring the situation and is on the whole successfully providing the necessary security for its "wards."

### Talks on Bilateral Relations With Georgia Continue

*LD1103193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1906 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Gvirtishvili]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—The fourth round of Russo- Georgian talks on fundamentals of bilateral relations continues in Moscow.

Feliks Kovalyov, head of the Russian delegation to the talks, told ITAR-TASS on Thursday that the talks are proceeding normally. The agenda includes discussions of documents on temporary station of Russian troops and border guards on the territory of Georgia. Kovalyov gave no other details.

The talks are being held while the Georgian parliament continues debates on future relations with Russia. At one of the recent sessions of the Georgian Parliament Parliament Speaker Eduard Shevardnadze said that "the signing of a treaty with Russia will strengthen Georgia's sovereignty and is vitally important for the republic."

### Grachev Interviewed on Relations With Georgia

*LD1103223593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] The Russian defense minister, Pavel Grachev, has made an (?inspection) tour of the Caucasus, stopping in the southern Russian cities of Rostov on the Don, Novorossiysk, and Krasnodar and Russian Army units in Georgia, Abkhazia, and Adzharia, which aroused a negative reaction from the Georgian authorities. They considered the visit an indication of the special strategic interests of Russia.

Does the defense minister think that the visit to Abkhazia, which is now warring against Georgia, not agreed upon with Tbilisi, might harm relations with Georgia?

[Begin Grachev recording, in Russian fading to English translatiion] No, I do not think so. I could also ask why

does Mr. Shevardnadze and other gentlemen come to Moscow without a warning and meet political leaders to settle certain questions when they need it? It was a routine inspection of Russian Army units prompted by changes in the strategic and political situation in the region. I would like to emphasize that the presence of Russian border guards is necessary in the interests of Russian as well as Georgian security. Russian troops there are demonstrating complete neutrality and are in no way involved in the ethnic conflict. Thus my tour could not influence relations between our two countries in any way.

As for the length of stay of Russian troops on Georgian territory, this question will not be decided by the defense minister of course. The matter is within the competence of the political leadership and should be resolved on the basis of bilateral talks with Georgia. [end recording]

### Warship To Replace Counterpart in Persian Gulf

*OW1103184993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1534 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The warship Admiral Levchenko and the tanker Dniester of the Russian Northern Fleet are ready to leave for the Persian Gulf at any moment, a high-ranking officer in the Russian navy's General Staff told Interfax. He said the Admiral Levchenko will replace the Admiral Tributs, which has been in the Gulf for nearly three months and is going to set sail for home April 5.

The officer said the Admiral Levchenko will not set off before the Russian President issues a decree to that effect. The ship was originally going to leave for the Gulf on March 4, but the President put off signing the decree due to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies. "The General Staff expects Boris Yeltsin to sign the decree within the next few days," the officer said.

He also said the General Staff "has made a highly positive appraisal" of the Admiral Tributs's presence in the Gulf. Earlier this month, the ship had joint exercises with British, French, and U.S. vessels and "excellently" carried out all its tasks.

In particular, the Russians performed well shooting at air targets, hitting not only "their own" radar beam-reflecting balloons but also one set for the Americans but which the latter were unable to spot. "This is yet another proof that American technology and personnel training standards are not always perfect," he said.

The French, he said, were unable to attack an underwater target imitating a submarine: although they spotted it, they lost it before the moment they were to fire on it. The Admiral Tributs destroyed that target too. As a recognition of the ship's "merits," Russian warships were invited to visit India, China, Oman, Kuwait, Sri Lanka, and other countries.

### Government Interested in Cooperation With Kuwait

*LD1103201593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1948 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Posatnogov]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—"Russia is interested in developing and strengthening multilateral contacts with Kuwait in political, economic, cultural and other spheres," Viktor Gogitidze, first deputy director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Department for Africa and the Middle East, said in a TASS interview on Thursday in connection with the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with Kuwait.

The Russian diplomat said that Russia has long-standing relations with Kuwait. For a number of years Kuwait was a pioneer among the countries of the Persian Gulf which established diplomatic relations with the former Soviet Union. Looking back on the 30 years of Russo-Kuwaiti relations, the Russian diplomat said that political relations developed rather fruitfully, while economic and other ties did not develop as quickly as Russia wanted them to.

At present, due to the deideologisation of the Russian foreign policy a way was cleared for more fruitful development of bilateral relations, the diplomat said, adding that Russian President Boris Yeltsin received an official invitation a few days ago to pay a visit to Kuwait.

Gogitidze said that Russia is greatly interested in the development of relations with Kuwait and pointed out to an important role played by Kuwait in the area of the Persian Gulf and in the international arena. Gogitidze emphasised that the Russian Federation strictly comes out in favour of Iraq's implementing in full resolutions passed by the U.N. Security Council on the post-crisis settlement in the zone of the Persian Gulf, in particular, on the demarcation of the Kuwaiti-Iraqi border and resolutions on compensations.

### Outgoing Turkish Envoy on Economic Ties

*PM1103143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Mar 93 First Edition p 10*

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Turkish Ambassador Likes To Stroll Along Herzen Street"]

[Excerpts] Volkan Vural is leaving Moscow. He arrived in October 1988 to take up the post of Turkish ambassador to the Soviet Union and did not suspect then what events awaited him. [passage omitted]

Trade and finances have always been the focus of attention for Volkan Vural, who in the mid-eighties headed

the Turkish Foreign Ministry's Foreign Economic Relations Department. He is convinced that Russia looks too frequently to the West, ignoring its eastern and southern neighbors. It is worth recalling that only 10 years ago the Finns were the chief foreign construction contractors in the Soviet Union. Today, as a rule, they are Turkish companies, and they guarantee no less high-quality work for half the price.

Turkey is capable of helping Russia to develop small- and medium-scale business in Black Sea regions—in Krasnodar Kray, for example, Vural believes. The ambassador also hopes that in the very near future his country will buy from Russia not only oil and gas but also technologies: "You have a magnificent aerospace industry, whereas ours is very poorly developed," he said. "Turkey could study opportunities for buying Russian military hardware."

Of course, relations between Moscow and Ankara, particularly as regards the crisis in the Balkans, are not a completely cloudless sky. "In principle, both Russia and Turkey reject bloodshed and ethnic cleansing. We have no disagreement on this," the head of the Turkish mission believes. "But we see different methods for resolving the conflict: Many people in your country believe that the Serbs have recently been subjected to excessive pressure and that steps should be taken toward Belgrade so as to encourage it to take a more constructive stand at the peace talks. My government's viewpoint is that aggression must be stopped at all costs, if necessary even with forceful intervention."

Despite natural disagreements, the ambassador sees no obstacles to a real boom in bilateral ties. "I personally have an interest in this, for I will be leaving behind real friends in Moscow, like the artist Yuriy Mironov and Aleksandr Kalyagin, a fine artiste and a very good man. I hope to be able to continue augmenting my collection of Russian paintings."

"You know," he said, "my favorite street in Moscow is the former Bolshaya Nikitskaya, i.e. Herzen Street. I have frequently strolled along it of late, and I look on this corner of the city with the somewhat sad eye of someone about to leave."

## Aerospace Cooperation Agreement Signed With France

*LD1003203993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1854 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—"An agreement on cooperation in aerospace industry, signed today by the Russian Committee for Defence Industry and the French Aerospatial company, opens good prospects for bilateral contacts in aviation and civil space," Viktor Glukhikh, chairman of the Russian committee, told ITAR-TASS on Wednesday.

On France's part, the agreement was signed by the President of the Aerospatial, Louis Gallois.

Glukhikh noted that the agreement provides for cooperation in the conversion of these industries at a new technical level. The agreement envisages the development of a long-term programme for cooperation, including joint projects in aviation and space technology. There are plans to carry out joint work on the MI-38 helicopter and TU-334 plane seating 100 passengers.

As for space technology, Russian enterprises intend to develop liquid-type rocket engines for the Ariane-5 missile and orbital compartments for "Hermes" multiple entry spaceships.

The sides have expressed mutual desire to continue cooperation in the 21st century, including in the development of a supersound passenger plane and a hypersound aircraft engine.

## Oil Agreement Signed With Venezuela To Benefit Cuba

*LD1103224693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0726 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sereda]

[Text] Havana, 11 Mar—Russia and Venezuela signed an agreement on Wednesday, in accordance with which Cuba will once again be able to get oil from Venezuela in exchange for supplies of Russian oil to European countries. This agreement was signed in Caracas by Eduard Grushevenko, first deputy minister of fuel and power engineering, and Rafael Guevara, deputy minister of energy and mines of Venezuela.

Under the terms of this agreement, Russia will be obliged to supply oil to Venezuelan oil refineries in Germany and Switzerland, and Venezuela will supply the same quantity of oil to Cuba and other countries. The system of the oil 'triangle' has thus been restored. This was in operation until 1991, when Venezuela supplied Cuba with 60,000 barrels of oil a day, while the Soviet Union made analogous supplies to an oil refinery in Germany which Venezuela jointly owns with a German firm.

The agreement stipulates that the Russian Federation will this year supply 2 million tonnes of oil to Cuba in exchange for sugar. The document also says that cooperation between Russia and Venezuela will include the exchange of oil extraction and refining technology, as well as exchange of experience in the sphere of issuing licenses for oil extraction to foreign companies. At the same time, the parties pledge to keep secret technical information which they deem to be confidential.

## Eighth Congress of People's Deputies

### Yeltsin 'Walked Out' of 11 Mar Session

*LD1103141793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin walked out of the Congress of People's Deputies after one of the speakers in the heated debate on violations of constitutional provisions, Mikhail Chelnokov called for the start of the procedure to strip the president of his powers. This happened on Thursday afternoon [11 March], shortly after reports that the supreme legislature had made first steps towards a compromise with the president.

### Chernomyrdin Delivers Speech to Congress 11 Mar

*LD1103133393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0755 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow on 11 March—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies: I have asked to take the floor in order to address those very questions which are being discussed. In my view, all we have been or will be talking about later boils down to one important thing: how to enable Russia, Russian economy, Russian statehood to pull themselves out of the crisis, at last, so that 1993 will become a turning point to healthy development, to normal work. People want this; the executive and the legislative powers want this as well. The question is: How? Using what mechanisms should the system of the society's self- preservation be activated? How to move from words to deeds? What have we achieved? Three months, almost three months, I have been in this job. What have we managed to achieve during this period?

First and foremost, efforts to implement the resolution of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies On the Course of Economic Reform in the Russian Federation have been at the center of the government's work. What is the essence of the adjustments to economic policy, the need for which was talked about at the previous and, indeed, at the current Congress? This means primarily that the government is striving for a more realistic, pragmatic, and down-to-earth approach to our reform, recognizing the need to bring the state factor into play in the reform so that we do not lose the already catastrophic level of control we have now. Then, finally, to strengthen the social orientation of the reform. In doing this, we must not in any event let slip the priority: financial stabilization, which has been and remains the basis of the reform measures.

The following steps have been taken in this direction: A fundamental decision has been made to regulate pricing. This was not easy to achieve, but nevertheless an option was found and taken, and it is today curbing hyperinflationary processes.

The main thing is that I believe it will work and will not remain a mere declaration. The government has put much effort into devising the principles of regional policy, in conjunction with the heads of administration and local soviets of people's deputies. One can say that a new approach to its implementation has been found, which takes into maximum consideration existing conditions, so to speak, as well as the interests of all subjects of the Federation. This is important work which must be continued.

Cabinet guidelines have been established in credit and finance policy. In the period of preparations for sowing, I believe the government decision on financial support for the Russian Federation's agro-industrial complex, that was adopted in January this year, is extremely important. Preferential credit support for the countryside will be continued. Today, we have no alternative.

Despite the fact that state resources are extremely limited, the Russian Federation Government is trying to settle its debts. The matter of indexing the interest on people's deposit accounts in the Savings Bank of the Russian Federation has been tackled, as has the matter of canceling top priority debts on special-purpose checks and interest-free loans.

Today Russia's economic situation remains difficult. Public sector production is falling. In January the gross domestic output was 80 percent of what it was for the same period last year. During the past two months, industrial output fell by 20 percent. Capital investments are falling. Therefore, at the beginning of this year the government was forced to face a whole series of very difficult problems.

Budgetary, monetary and credit policy remains unacceptably mild when today the monthly rate of increase in credits and money supply is more than 25 percent. At the same time, a second wave of the nonpayment crisis is rising. The budget deficit is unreasonably big.

In such conditions, the immediate task of any government is to achieve financial stabilization. To deny that this is the priority, or to fail to solve this problem, would only mean increasing the economic confusion. The government has outlined the immediate tasks for solving these problems. What is most important is that it intends to counteract the slump, to help increase production, and to tackle this task at a time when the state's financial possibilities are being reduced. In this situation, an improvement in the position of the entire economy can be achieved only by the state being more selective about what it supports, and by a precise definition of priorities. These were determined and adopted by the expanded sitting of the government with the participation of heads of administrations which took place on 11 February.

What priorities are these? First of all, the oil and fuel sector, a sector which in essence influences the work of the whole national economy. But even in this sector priorities will and must be determined. Then we must consider the provision of foodstuffs for the population, in essence the agrarian sector. Then there is the creation of social guarantees for the least protected strata of the population, the question of conversion, the preservation of our scientific-technical potential, science, and in particular the basic sciences, social issues-housing, providing gas supplies to rural areas, public health, and culture.

In this connection, questions of investment policy are of special importance. Long-term strategic answers have not yet been found to the question of finding sources of [capital] accumulation. Today, any call to sharply increase investment will simply be like beating the wind. It must be clearly understood that investment is impossible unless inflation is curbed. Today the most important thing is to use those investment resources which the state, the banks, and the commercial sector have at their disposal with a high degree of efficiency.

A very important aspect of financial and economic policy this year is to reduce the federal budget deficit. One particularly acute issue is to bring order to the way in which enterprises and regions are granted additional taxation, and export-import and credit benefits. This is not popular, but we will carry it out rigorously.

A few words about the regional aspect of our work. Today this is of almost decisive importance since it touches on serious internal political problems as well as economic ones.

The issue of consolidating real federalism, moving the center of gravity of the reforms to the localities—moving a large amount of rights to the subjects of the Federation as well as, most importantly, the opportunity to have practical powers—is the most important of the government's tasks, and we will continue this work in conjunction with the regions and the republics.

We need to adopt a law extending the budgetary rights of local authorities as quickly as possible in order to put in order the relationship between the federal budget and the budgets of the territories.

I have to say that even now a number of regions are in breach of current budget legislation, thinking that all the income coming in from their territory belongs to them and that they can settle only amounts that they decide for themselves with the federal budget. I would like to stress that these kinds of action have nothing in common with reform and cannot do so. They have to be stopped using all possible economic and administrative means. Once again I wish to stress: the federal government will in practical terms be moving the center of economic reform to the localities, the regions, and republics, but only along with the highest degree of responsibility both for oneself and for Russia as a whole.

One of the most burning problems of reform, the one that worries society as a whole, is privatization. This is also the most difficult to implement. In principle, figures suggest that it is a success. Transfers to joint-stock companies are running to schedule. New owners are taking over those small-scale facilities that are subject to privatization. The citizens of Russia have received their privatization checks.

However, do things really change in practice, as far as property relations are concerned? Do people, and first of all collectives, acquire new stimuli for efficient work? So far, this is not quite the case. It may be that good results and real changes lie ahead, but right now we have to decide how people can use their checks to good effect; how to combine the interests of labor collectives with those of millions of teachers, doctors, servicemen, and staff paid from state budget; how to put an end to machinations and cheating, and to the accumulation by a few citizens—sometimes not the worthiest—of massive riches.

We have not thought everything through. We have not found answers to all questions. There are objections from the Supreme Soviet. Recently, we had to recall a draft privatization program for 1993. We must substantially extend people's opportunities during the privatization and ensure that checks are in fact backed with property.

Coordinating federal and regional privatization programs, and arranging constructive cooperation also remain major problems.

Regarding the attitude to entrepreneurship: In order to bring Russia's economy out of crisis, federative state efforts at all levels of management and the strengthening of entrepreneurial activity in all areas can and should be complementary.

The president and I recently visited our Russian Chamber of Trade and Industry, where there is an exhibition of the history of Russian entrepreneurship at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century. I am not afraid to say that we were astonished at the scale, the marvelously rich experience, the magnificent examples of service to the motherland. I venture to cite what entrepreneur Konovalev said in 1912: Industry needs smooth and calm progress in political life as much as it needs air. It needs property and personal interests to be secure from arbitrary violations. It needs firm rights, lawfulness and wide-ranging education, in a word, everything we lack today.

The government wants to give all manner of support to Russian entrepreneurs, who link their own and their children's destiny with their people and their motherland.

We must not close our eyes to the fact that many of our newly emergent businessmen are taking advantage of the current economic freedom to promote their own private

interests—and are quite unscrupulous in so doing. For them, the nation's goal is fifth or even 10th in their list of priorities.

We must render all possible assistance to those entrepreneurs who are able and willing to participate in real industrial investments which have specific economic problems in producing real and effective output. As a first step, we intend in the near future to set up a committee under the government to support private entrepreneurship in order to plan and coordinate this work.

Nevertheless, our most urgent task today is to establish mechanisms for managing state property—effective, economical, market mechanisms which guarantee the establishment of a new type of discipline and the implementation of an active industrial policy. If we are giving out money and allocating credits, we should at the same time ask where it is all going, to what end, and how much it will produce. So we should have no repetition of last year, when pressure was put upon the government, the president, and the Supreme Soviet from all sides; if money was demanded, it was given—6 trillion rubles was given for 1992 alone. But where is the output for that 6 trillion rubles? Where are the items, the tonnes, and the meters? Why has there been such a catastrophic slump? I could give examples.

We can either ask this question, which we have every right to ask, or we can leave to one side any objective reasons there may be. Why do we have to come down like a ton of bricks on an enterprise, when it has retained its qualified personnel and its horizontal ties? Why does an enterprise abandon its pace of production when it changes into a joint-stock company, or a production association relax its regime of work, without reducing the salaries it pays to the same extent? Why are there such striking differences between different enterprises in literally the same town or region? I could come up with many examples.

Conversion is in great disorder. Some managers who are taking active part in this work are displaying determination, initiative, and commercial skill. We know of many managers like that, particularly in the defense industries, which over 18 months have effectively transferred literally 90 percent of their output to civilian use, to much needed civilian output, to technology which is in such short supply for agriculture, in particular. Such examples can be found in literally every industry, every region.

There are reserves and it is possible, even in the direst slump, to do one's work well. The state should help those doing this; it should help selectively and with discretion. What is beneficial to the enterprise, the entrepreneur, and the region must be beneficial to Russia, too. We will proceed on the basis of this principle when implementing our structural policy.

On the agricultural front. This year we are starting a new agricultural year in a worse state than ever before in terms of equipment, seeds, and fertilizer. We are taking measures, and will continue to do so—emergency measures if necessary—to avoid finding ourselves in an extremely difficult situation at the end of the year. The towns should also do their bit, particularly the conversion enterprises. This is precisely where their field of activity is greatest. They have an opportunity to take on redundant workers, to use idle capacity, and to bring in new technology, particularly in the processing industry. We should not forget the seasonal nature of agricultural work; we should make use of new economic approaches in conditions in which, as the saying goes, one day provides food for the year.

Social policy. I cannot fail to note that last year social problems here fared little better than in previous years. The famous residual principle has prevailed here. Moreover, at the initial stage, the government seems consciously to have avoided these issues. If we continue like this, we could do irreparable damage, and the people will not forgive us if we fail to find a way out of the critical situation in which we put them.

I believe it is not only in terms of economic efficiency criteria that the success of the reforms has to be measured; it has also to be correlated to the principles of social justice. Of course, we cannot do everything. But we have to deal with the priorities this year. Amid our disputes over one macroeconomic model or another, over political problems, we must never forget that it is the working person who has worked all his life or is actively taking part in productive life today, with his cares, worries, and hopes, who remains the foundation of our society. All we politicians and economic managers must together find the single way which is most painless for the great worker of Russia.

About our tasks in foreign economic policy. One of the most acute problems here is strengthening the ruble exchange rate, tightening currency controls, and combating the flight of capital out of Russia. In order to deal with these tasks, the government is implementing measures to stimulate exports, tighten up controls over the export of strategically important goods, particularly raw materials, and strengthen customs borders. However, energetic action is also needed from the Central Bank, which is where legislation places responsibility for the currency regulation of the ruble.

On mutual relations with the countries of the former USSR: There is no longer a commonwealth of Union republics, and we must create a new community, build our own new common market. There are already examples of reasonable, businesslike, and non-standard approaches. As a good example of one of these, one can cite the recently concluded Surgut agreement on oil extraction, and the experiment in our mutual relations with kazakhstan. I must say that the difficulties in the oil industry in particular have created a situation whereby no one needs to be persuaded that they should take part

voluntarily; today everyone wants to participate personally in tackling these problems. I also think that there will be more problems like that today in Russia, causing us to unite on that same basis.

In our relations with the former USSR republics, we are trying to establish close economic ties and achieve integration. But we will take a firm stand on defending the Russia's national interests. I would like to confirm this with absolute clarity and appeal to our partners in the CIS countries as well: We will build up our economic relations and help our partners out when they need it, but only if they strictly respect the legal rights of the Russian- speaking population and Russian citizens. This includes the rights of Russian servicemen. No one should entertain any illusions on this account.

Let me tell you this as well: The government is directly responsible for the present and the future of the Russian armed forces. To say that the development of the new defense doctrine and the reform of the army are the additional factors of today's economic and political transformations is no exaggeration. The renewed Army means hundreds of thousands of socially protected servicemen and their families. We will be doing everything in our power to achieve this.

I will now turn to the political context of the government's work to implement the economic reform. We should frankly admit that our country is today facing a systematic crisis of society. This includes a crisis in its political institutions as well as a continuing economic decline, increasing social discord and conflicts, acute forms of the ideological confrontation, and a constitutional crisis. This all-embracing crisis did not start yesterday or the day before yesterday. It started nearly two decades back. It has been gradually deepening ever since, due to mistakes made by people who claimed leadership over this great country.

Let us admit honestly to ourselves that no simple return to the past, no copying of allegedly simple foreign models or ideas, and no search for all sorts of scapegoats or witch hunts will be able to extricate the people of our great homeland from the difficult situation in which we find ourselves today. Always, when times have been particularly difficult, our people have found within themselves the strength to close ranks. Today, precisely such a time has come. It is precisely today that we have a great need for a constructive, nationwide, statewide strategy for the development of the country.

Believe me, since I am responsible for the whole national economy, surely I am in a position to know that today is precisely such a time when it is necessary to speak about cohesion and unity. First, we need a firm and long-term consensus in society and the elaboration of a sort of overall political pact of civil accord.

Today, our society is split. In these conditions, no effective, socioeconomic or sociopolitical development is possible, either in theory or in practice. We need a sort of pact of civic solidarity, a pact that is not just abstract consensus but agreement on specific points of economic policy.

We understand that absolute unity exists only in the cemetery. There should be and there will be quarrels, debates, and the struggle between ideas. Without this, there cannot be any real progress. I am absolutely convinced, however, that we have values and principles that are the same for all important political and social forces in our society.

In the first place, we are one people, and we have one homeland. Second, we have only one history—a dramatic, tragic, and great history—but we have only one history. This history is made up of the fates of our fathers and our ancestors. We have one aim—a strong Russia as there has been in the past and from which we all are sprung. Our homeland cannot be weak or it will disappear. By the way, this is precisely what is wanted and that was almost achieved by many of our quote, friends, unquote.

The strength of Russia lies in a healthy society, a dynamic economy, the variety of our cultural and intellectual potential, and the unity and diversity of our regions. It also lies in a strong Russian Government.

We had, and must have, our own path in history. Dogmatic and ideological cliches must be rejected if we do not want to lag behind the changes that are taking place in the world today. We must be prepared for historical responsibility, creatively gearing ourselves toward our historic path and toward the future of our Russia. As the popular proverb says, "The mill will not work on water from somewhere else [na privoznoy vode melnitsa rabotat ne budet]."

The next item in the national strategy is the role of the state in the current transitional period. It is axiomatic that the role of the state has been objectively strengthened in all countries during difficult periods. In our country, it is paradoxical: something like the opposite is occurring. The levers of state administration are constantly weakening. Executive discipline is collapsing everywhere. Corruption is growing. The monitoring of decisions that have been adopted is weakening. The exodus of the most capable people from state bodies is growing stronger. The staff training system is being destroyed. We are almost being forced to reject the established administrative model. At the same time, however, we are facing the impossibility of effectively introducing new mechanisms. I want to say directly that we shall be unable to overcome the systemic crisis in society if the process of the downgrading of the state continues.

What is the main thing that has to be done in this regard, and what will the government do? Stiffen administrative discipline—rigidly, but within legal bounds—in all state institutions. Above all, it must be a question of raising the responsibility of the leaders. One must not justify slackness, sloppiness, and laziness by claiming devotion

to democracy. We must develop and introduce a special system of material and promotion incentives for persons who are in state employment today. In general, a national program is essential for the training and retraining of new administrative personnel capable of adopting and implementing important management decisions.

It is necessary to reject, once and for all, the narrowly ideological, politicized approach to staff appointments and to the rotation of staff at all levels of the machinery of state. A strong government must itself be an effective example, an effective model, of the functioning of the machinery of state, able to coordinate and find the optimum balance between various political, social, and regional interests.

This is why it is necessary that all the leading social and regional forces of our society should be represented in the government, one way or the other. We shall be trying to achieve this objective. A few words about practical proposals. Sometimes people ask: What does the government need to effectively influence the economic situation and implement the reforms without seeking someone's approval every minute. I should say it frankly: The government cannot implement the tasks it has been put in charge of without being granted real powers to manage the economy, especially during the economic reforms.

But all the meaningful instruments of state regulation—especially in the sphere of monetary, credit, and financial policy—are being practically denied to the government today. Moreover, the government is still being deprived of the right of legislative initiative. The law on the Council of Ministers, adopted at the end of the last year, promises the government such opportunities only in some distant future. There are constant attempts to load the already meager budget with additional expenses that are not supported by any real source of financing. This is often done without the consent of the government, or even in contradiction to its position. As a result, some people will appear as defenders of the interests of the people, and others as their tormentors and heartless experimenters. The situation that has developed after adoption of the law on the budget system for this year also seriously undermines the government's efforts. One can go on talking about imperfections of the budget proposals, but to have a budget that still has not been approved by March is far worse.

I should especially mention the work of the Central Bank. The position taken by the Bank on the nonpayments issue causes special concern. It has practically distanced itself from working out immediate measures in order to ensure that the payments are met on time, the whole of the payment and accounting mechanism is improved, and the necessary system of recording and reporting is established. The proper working conditions should be created for the government, which should be reinforced with serious powers for the period of getting the economy out of crisis. The most important of these is inclusion of the bank heads in the cabinet to ensure a concise monetary, credit, and financial policy.

Should a critical situation develop in the process of implementation of the budget, the government must be allowed to make operational decisions directed at cutting down approved expenses and increasing income—including introduction of emergency taxation.

It is necessary for the government to be put in charge of the day-to-day state management of federal property. We must focus the government's authority on questions of the current state administration of federal property, finance-and-credit systems, and federal economic services, including the federal banks. It would be expedient to transfer the Central Bank, the State Statistical Committee, the Pension Fund, and also the Federal Property Fund and other state budget funds to the system of bodies and establishments that are under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers. At the same time, their subordination to the Supreme Soviet must be preserved.

We have tried several times today to discuss this question—where to place the bank. It has always been part of the government. We are not demanding any exceptional powers for the government. These are merely the most necessary rights and preconditions for effective economic work.

Of course, speaking about the new role of the government in ensuring an economic breakthrough, we shall be paying attention this year, first and foremost, to ourselves and to the effectiveness of our own work. There are things to be corrected here. At the government's extended session on 11 February, tough but fair appraisals of a number of ministries and departments were expressed, especially the Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of Finance, the State Property Committee, and the governmental apparatus. We are well aware that here—in the organization of our own work—there is no one whom we can blame for our own lack of organization and inability. But here, too, the government vitally needs freedom to maneuver, including in its cadre policy.

I will state firmly: The demands put on each manager, whether at the level of enterprise, region, branch of industry, or the government, must be stepped up. Where the mechanism of persuasion is insufficient, we shall act with perfectly legal but quite tough methods.

Esteemed People's Deputies! Lately, despite the continuing debate between all branches of power and political forces, a very important and reassuring tendency has taken shape. Sensible people are gradually drawing together. Those on the extreme right and the extreme left and those with ultra-radical views on ways to resolve the acute problems of our economy are losing their former popularity. This process not only demonstrates a change in the position of various political forces and a general sobering of society. The point is that the space for maneuvering in the economy has narrowed, and the list

of actions really possible in this situation has sharply reduced. The reform should acquire a wider social basis than it had before.

In particular, a roundtable and an improvement in interaction between the government and the Supreme Soviet, the trade unions, political parties, and movements provides this opportunity. The government supports a clear and weighted balance of powers, for reinforcement of the president's vertical hierarchy. In the present situation, it is a strong president's power that is the guarantor of the implementation of the reforms and not the duality of the executive power. It is a reasonable division of labor between the government and the administrations of the regions. At the same time, the government cannot be a pale shadow of the president. Decrees relating to the competence of the Council of Ministers—especially in the financial and economic fields—should not be issued without a profound study by the government, especially if they concern finances.

I will speak quite frankly: it is essentially in the interests of both the president and the Supreme Soviet to increase the government's independence and capacity for independent action, for if this is done, there is someone who can be called to account. One thing is of importance for us: we must be given the possibility to work. Give us the chance to do the job that no one else can do. Political ambitions, and frequently overly strict adherence to principles, must not be permitted to wipe out the opportunities for normal work that are emerging today. The government must not be dragged into political games or used as the short change in a battle of pride. This year must be a year of action and construction, a year of change and renewal of our Russia. Thank you.

### Rejects Khasbulatov Remarks

*OW1103143393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with Interfax and National TV, Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin categorically rejected Ruslan Khasbulatov's statement to the effect that there are at least two more prime ministers in the government besides Chernomyrdin.

This accusation has nothing to do with reality, he said. He admitted, however, that not everything went smoothly in the government. "Anyway, none of the Cabinet members acts in violation of the government's course. There are no and can be no disagreements in the government," he said.

Chernomyrdin also emphasized that no one in the government stood in the prime minister's way. "Those who will, will not last two days in the Cabinet," he said.

### Khasbulatov Grants Interview, Criticizes Excecutive

*LD1203084093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0335 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Grigoriy Nekhoroshev in Moscow on 11 March—recorded]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov has appealed to Congress deputies not to come to any agreement with the president. Today the Congress is to adopt a decision that will drastically restrict the powers of the president of Russia. Why is the head of parliament leveling such scathing criticism at the president? Our Moscow correspondent Grigoriy Nekhoroshev put this question to Khasbulatov.

[Begin recording] [Khasbulatov] I simply wanted to bring the deputies back to earth because any kind of agreement circumventing the Constitution plays a pernicious role. It simply appeared to me that after the speeches by both the federal prime minister and by the president, some deputies, so to speak, were inclined to traverse a faulty path again and to act and make some kind of decision that goes beyond the bounds of the Constitution. In order to prevent this from happening, I said, what is it exactly that you want? You see now what sort of terms have been put into circulation: someone needed legal power. But what is legal power? That is the Constitution, a constitutional agreement. Excuse me, what is meant by the Constitution? It is an agreement among all the citizens. but here you can see endless and constant reproaches and accusations directed at the deputies. They are having some sort of effect and allow them to act without thinking sometimes. Perhaps there have been some kind of emotional excesses, but I think that I have told you what is actually the case.

[Nekhoroshev] Ruslan Imranovich, one can of course guess what the outcome of the voting will be and that this decision that we are talking about now will be adopted. Will this put a stop to the constitutional crisis?

[Khasbulatov] Naturally the best thing would be if the idea is adopted—which I think I mentioned for the first time—regarding simultaneous elections of both the president and federal deputies. I think that would provide the answer. That would provide the deputies with the opportunity to work out an election law, for example, on the election of deputies, on the election of the president, to work out the fundamentals of future parliamentary organization, to place a firm legislative foundation under the future system of the functioning of the federal institutions of power, and to thereby create a good mechanism of mutually monitorable administration of our federal state. It seems to me that it is hardly likely that the existing supreme bodies will in general manage to carry out activity without coming into conflict because the executive authority is displaying a pathological striving to destroy that power, the growing democratic power: parliamentary power. Perhaps executive authority is genetically linked with bolshevism—it is

accustomed to act in comfortable conditions. This is the reason why the parliament is in its way. [end recording]

### Asks Yeltsin To Remove Kozyrev

*OW1103155993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1534 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia currently has neither a foreign nor a domestic policy, according to Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who was speaking at the 8th Congress of Russian People's Deputies Thursday [11 March]. Khasbulatov appealed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin to "keep his word" and remove Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The speaker claimed that the president had several times publicly promised to do this.

A Russian Foreign Ministry representative declined to comment on Khasbulatov's statement in an interview with Interfax. "Why comment on what is clear in and of itself?" he said.

### Views Yeltsin's 'Pathological Aspiration'

*OW1103191893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian Supreme Council, with INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov on 11 March; place not given—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaker of the Russian Supreme Council Ruslan Khasbulatov believes that the best way out of the current political crisis would be simultaneous pre-term presidential and parliamentary elections.

In an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX]'s correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov on Thursday [11 March] evening he stated: "I'm convinced that it would be unlikely to avoid conflicts under the present ruling bodies. The executive power has a pathological aspiration to destroy the legislative power, the burgeoning democratic power. Probably, the executive power is genetically linked with Bolshevism and is accustomed to living in comfort. That's why the parliament is bothering it. It has no freedom of maneuvering, possibility to act freely".

At the same time Khasbulatov expressed doubts that the current Congress of People's Deputies can resolve the issue of simultaneous pre-term presidential and parliamentary elections.

Asked if his speech at the congress on Thursday means the rejection of "extended presidential hand", Khasbulatov noted that he just wanted "to demonstrate the inadmissibility of the refusal to follow the Constitution". "It seemed to me that after the speeches of the president and the prime minister some of the deputies revealed the intention of again taking the vicious path and making decisions outside the framework of the Constitution", Khasbulatov pointed out. "I meant that reproaches coming from the executive power towards the deputies are aimed at making them take hasty actions".

Answering the question if he fears that after coming to power national patriots would in the first place dismiss him, Khasbulatov said that he is prepared to leave his post. "There are many people willing to occupy this post apart from them", he admitted.

The speaker of the Russian parliament expressed confidence that the congress will complete its work on Friday, March 12.

### Chubays Says Cabinet To Continue Functioning

*OW1103144693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian government is in favor of an agreement among the branches of power, but even if no such agreement is reached at the congress, the cabinet will continue to function. This was announced during an interview with journalists in the lobby of congress by Russian Vice Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays.

According to Chubays, the government feels support from the public and managers, "but does not want a confrontation with the congress."

The president at this forum did his utmost to reach a compromise, Chubays said. At the same time, he thinks that the congress is carrying out such an active attack on the president and government since it understands that reforms are starting to become irreversible.

The vice premier characterized the essence of parliamentary chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's position as openly confrontational, oppositional and a political fight for personal interest only and detrimental to the people.

### Comments on Privatization

*LD1103204393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2032 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—"There is a big group among deputies of the Russian parliament who are ready to immediately do away with privatisation and those who suggested it. Today, it has become clear to everyone that the Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov belongs to this group," Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, Anatoliy Chubays, said on Russian television on Thursday [11 March].

He said that "this position could be guessed in various forms, but today masks have been cast aside, and all things have been called by their true names. The people realised that in a few weeks, in a few months people will come into possession of property. It will take place not in five or two years, but in March and April, and will reach a stage from which no one would be able to reverse the situation," Chubays said.

Commenting on criticism of the Cabinet of Ministers voiced at the congress, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said in an interview with the first channel of the Russian television: "It would be an exaggeration to say (to deputies) that things are going ahead in the right way. This if far from the truth. But there is no particular controversy in the government and nobody is doing anything contrary to adopted decisions," Chernomyrdin said.

"Nobody is interfering with my work, and if someone really wants to help, we shall find room for such people in the government, but if someone gets in the way, he would not 'work' in the government even for a couple of days," Chernomyrdin said.

### Grants Interview

*LD1103234093*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 11 March, in its "Novosti" newscast, broadcasts a 6-minute report from the Kremlin by correspondent Chernyshova. The report begins with Chernyshova talking about developments so far at the Congress of People's Deputies. She then interviews Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays, one of the ministers who was criticized by Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov and other deputies. In response to a question from Chernyshova, Chubays says:

"You are right, of course, that there is indeed a large group of deputies who are ready to immediately destroy the whole idea of privatization together with its creators, and today it has, at last, become clear to everyone that Ruslan Khasbulatov belongs to this group as well. He has shown various signs of maintaining this position for a long time but on the whole he has managed to conceal it well so far. Today the masks were discarded. Things are called by their proper names, and this is the truth of the matter. These people have realized that within the next few weeks or months people will begin to own property. This is what it is all about, and this will happen not in five or even two years; this will happen in March or April and will reach a stage when no one will be able to reverse this situation."

At this point an unidentified deputy interjects: "We know very well that today these vouchers are being bought up at every corner by a bunch of orange-sellers at just 3,000-4,000 rubles each, and one can only imagine who will end up owning most of our property in the near future."

Chernyshova then reports that it was decided at the Congress that the drafting commission should also include "the country's three leaders—Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Chernomyrdin". She is then seen talking to Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and asking him: "You were present at the drafting commission. Perhaps you would say a few words?"

Chernomyrdin replies: "Well, you can't say it in a couple of words. Right now we are about to discuss the major issues, but on individual matters, there is the proposal by the president, in accordance with the president's version, since Boris Nikolayevich was also a member of the commission—the three of us were in it—and I think that the commission adopted two items, the main items. The first item concerns the work of the government—what I was talking about in my speech; about what we need and what the government should be like—and was adopted by the commission. Well, I would very much like, and I hope, that the congress will perhaps adopt it. Well, there are difficulties..."

Chernyshova interrupts to ask: "And the second item?"

Chernomyrdin continues: "Yes, the second item was also adopted without reservations, but the second item does, by and large, follow the law on the government, so that they don't contradict one another. There are questions on the other items as well. The main question, of course, is the decision of the seventh congress. There are problems here, and not everything is working out. But I think that now the congress itself needs to express its view."

Chernyshova then says: "Viktor Stepanovich, the government was severely criticized today."

Chernomyrdin replies: "I would be very wrong if I said that everything is proceeding as it should in our country. That is a long way from the truth. But as for anyone in the government going in the wrong direction or doing anything contrary to the decisions adopted, or as for there being some particular contradictions—there has been no such thing. No such thing at all! That cannot be. No one is obstructing me. On the contrary, I say that, if there are people willing to work, if someone really wants to help, and if anyone has ideas on how to do it, I am ready to work with everyone. We will find places for such people in the government. They exist. So no one is obstructing me. If anyone got in the way, he wouldn't work in the government even for a couple of days."

Chernyshova then says: "Khasbulatov said that he would not endorse the budget for 1993."

Chernomyrdin responds: "You know, the Supreme Soviet makes the decision. The Supreme Soviet, you understand. One cannot live without a budget in such an indeterminate situation. The budget may be bad, it may not match up to all the requirements, but it must be adopted. If we repeat the same situation as we had with the 1992 budget, which was endorsed in the second half of 1992, in December 1992, well, what sort of budget is

that? That is why we are saying—I said so in my speech—that yes the budget is not perfect; yes it does not balance; yes expenditure is constantly unsatisfactory, and there are still 200 amendments to go. If we talk about revenue first of all, we find the same thing. The revenue has to be dealt with. The government must deal with revenue, but expenditure too must..." At this point Chernomyrdin changes thought and continues: "When all is said and done, will we ever learn to live within our means? I think that our congress will, nevertheless, make the correct decision. I think that common sense should prevail after all."

Chernyshova concludes her report by saying: "Hope is the last thing to die. Hope of reconciliation between our authorities is only just alive. I nostalgically think of the weak voice of Deputy Belov, who said: It is supposed to be the sowing season soon; if only we could talk about that."

## N. Fedorov Delivers 11 Mar Congress Speech

*LD1103202793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1240 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Speech by Minister of Justice Nikolay Fedorov at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow, with interjections by Congress Chairman Khasbulatov—live]

[Text] Esteemed Congress. The wishes of the Congress, which have changed the agenda so significantly, forced me to change somewhat the emphasis of my presentation of the existing problems, for I am physically incapable of telling you in detail about a very serious constitutional problem described by a number of deputies as the main problem on the agenda of the present Congress. Nevertheless, taking into account the constitutional message, the message from the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation to the Supreme Soviet, which gives a rather well-balanced account of violations of the constitution and laws by various branches of power, we would like to note that we do not think that all those violations were committed deliberately or with malicious intent. A lot can be explained by time pressures and the absence of a proper political and legal culture in all the power structures, but today it looks as if there is no alternative to the policy of reconciliation and repentance. Otherwise, there is something which today is called a non-legal space, or to put it into a wording understood by the people, it means the policy of repressions and terror, blood and iron, or Cossack whips.

Unfortunately, these political methods are gaining more and more supporters. This very fact ought to make us support lawful approaches. The declaration of Russia's state sovereignty proclaimed the division of legislative, executive and judicial authorities the principle of Russia's functioning as a lawful state. This principle was once again enshrined in the first and second articles of the Constitution. In reality, the processes which we are witnessing testify to the fact that we are failing to maintain even these incomplete divisions of the branches of power. The examples which I am about to mention might seem like individual instances but, unfortunately, all of them together testify to the existence of profound and firm tendencies in our policy line which do not conform to the principles of constitutional legality.

The fact that the boundaries between the legislative and executive structures are now being washed away is one of the manifestations of the tendencies I have mentioned. According to our analysis the Supreme Soviet of the Federation has so far failed to stay within the framework of activities allocated to it. Structures and departments which, from the point of view of constitutionalism, carry out purely executive and regulatory functions appear one after another. The Federal Property Fund, the State Committee for Statistics, the Pension Fund, a chain of banks, non-budget funds and so on and so forth have already been mentioned here. The Supreme Soviet is taking upon itself the solving of economic problems, and in doing so is flagrantly violating the law, and unfortunately it is shamelessly infringing on the powers of the government.

I will name just a few documents, which will speak for themselves. I quote: On measures to provide for food delivery to regions of the Far North and contiguous localities. On urgent measures to prepare for spring field work in 1993. Numerous breaches of the Constitution of the Russian Federation are being permitted by the Supreme Soviet in direct legislative work. We can distribute background information on this. We ought to be frank in recognising that one of the factors of the constitutional crisis, or, as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet put it, the lack of respect for the Constitution, is the emergence of yet another source of authoritarian decisions, a source which is not envisaged by the constitution; by this I mean the Supreme Soviet Presidium, whose powers are defined in Article 114 of the Constitution. Analysis of the documents which have been passed shows that very often the Presidium exceeds its authority as a working body of the parliament. The fact that the Presidium has adopted the issuing of normative and legal documents as a common practice leads, to a large extent, to the substitution of both the Supreme Soviet and the government. The Presidium has been adopting decisions on a grand scale concerning the budget and credit spheres. The Presidium has taken the following decisions, I quote: On reimbursing amounts outstanding from Russia's republican budget to the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Atomic Energy; on giving priority to providing banking services to the enterprises of the nuclear and energy complex. Decisions were adopted in a similar fashion on allocating resources on 15 April and on preferential credit terms on 22 June 1992. One is left to guess on the basis of what sort of powers the Presidium Made the decisions like, I quote: On the socioeconomic situation in the Republic of Buryatia; on the priorities of Russia's military policy; on the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society and many others.

Irrespective of the reasons which give rise to it, this sort of Sovietization of administration carries within itself a destructive element, the results of which can clearly be seen from the consequences of many years of such practice. Against this background, the transformation of the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet is no longer a surprise. A constitutional figure, the organiser of the work of parliament, has patently been transformed into a parallel center of executive power. Who do you think makes decisions on, I quote, effecting state help and finance to the Academy of Technological Sciences? Or, I quote, on permission for plots of land in the Leningrad oblast customs zone to be let on long leases? Or on regulating the use of the Russian Black Sea coast in order to organize health and recreation facilities? All of this is contained in the appropriate personal decisions by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet allows himself to make decisions as though he were the supreme official with unlimited powers. On orders from the chairman, the Ministry of Justice was instructed to register the charter of the all-Russian Copyright Agency, which was set up in violation of the law. It is well known how this affair ended. The ministry did not carry out this instruction and legality was restored by decision the Constitutional Court. True, the Constitutional Court did not say anything about the illegal instruction given by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

Why? In any event, it may have taken the total power of the soviets into account, and is it not amazing that a Supreme Soviet fund for the social support of the population is being set up. By-passing parliamentary control, the funds are employed at the personal discretion of the chairman. The amounts allocated on personal instructions from the chairman are far from personal—10 million rubles [R] from the fund's resources to one ensemble, R20 million to another. Apparently only the chairman knows why precisely these collectives were selected. This notion that he is allowed to do absolutely anything he likes is one of the serious sources of conflict and unpredictability in Russian policy, which causes vast harm to the economy and the law.

Violations of their powers by officials of the Supreme Soviet have become a daily matter and this evokes a chain reaction of officials' exceeding their powers, both in the center and in the localities. And it is no longer the government, the executive bodies, and not even the chairman of the Supreme Soviet himself, but simply the deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet who confirm such documents as The State Investment Program—I am reading these out—The New Generation of Technology and Sets of Equipment for the Reconstruction of Underground Engineering Networks, or, I quote, The Production of Ecologically Clean Installations, The Acid-free Removal of Scale from the Surface of Rolled Metal for the Technical Reequipment of Enterprises of Russia and Supplies for Export, and so on. Can one say after this that these institutions of power are providing Russians with stability in policy and predictability in their lives?

The erosion of the border between the representative and executive spheres give rise to yet another problem, which is difficult to resolve. This is the merging of the corps of deputies and the administrative personnel. Let us take as an example the Fund for the Social Development of Russia, Rebirth, which was instituted and registered on the basis of a decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Today it is actively involved in business, it creates commercial structures, acquires uncompleted installations, makes property deals. It is natural that there arise—and it could not be otherwise—rather complicated relations with the bodies of executive power, including the monitoring bodies.

Imagine what an easy access the appropriate organs within the ministries of internal affairs and security, the Procuracy and the tax services have to the control functions—since there are already more than 100 of them as heads of the committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet! And what people! I will give you just a few names: Pochinok, Ryabov, Yeryomin, Zhukov, Ispravnikov, Aslakhanov, Stepashin, Shorin, and others. There are dozens, hundreds of examples of such confusion between the policy, state discipline and commerce. The Supreme Soviet has, on the whole, to determine for itself what the deputies should be engaged in—political activity for the benefit of the whole of Russia, or private commerce, where they can freely use their deputies' privileges. It should adopt an act similar to the presidential decree on corruption among civil servants.

The Supreme Soviet has grossly violated the law on referendums by not holding a referendum on land ownership, despite 2 million signatures already collected in support of it. The Supreme Soviet is grossly violating its own constitutional status and the existing legislation by not fulfilling its obligation to carry out the referendum on 11 April. I am not talking about whether or not the Congress and the Supreme Soviet are acting expediently; the question is that there can be no other legal assessment of all these actions than calling them anticonstitutional, unlawful activities connected with a policy—already with certain success—of usurping either the people's or judicial power. Democracy, law and justice are not where a minority can be freely crushed and its property shared among the majority. They are where the minority is being protected from the arbitrariness of the majority. And the power should belong to the judiciary, including the Constitutional Court, and not the majority—even the Congress. Otherwise, Russia will never have either constitutional order or justice as its legal values.

We believe that the Supreme Soviet has created out of leadership a very dangerous—for the constitutional order—practice, and continues to remain in this pit of illegality. One could say the growth diseases of the new democracy, but how much can one mock the close relatives of a patient who does not want to recover. One can repeat 100 times that Russia has a special character,

but as one ancient sage remarked justly, it is for that purpose we have two ears and one mouth, so that we can listen more and talk less.

The wisdom of the division of powers consists precisely in the fact that it is based on a balance. No single power must give itself an assessment—it is only the proverbial non-commissioned officer's widow who can whip herself—and control all of itself.

Regarding this matter. The president has already said the entire concept, all approaches...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] So, esteemed speaker, I must... Wait! Wait, I will ask the Congress whether it will give you extra time. [Shouts from the hall] Very well. How much? Five minutes? [Shouts from the hall] Very well. I am putting it to the vote.

[Fedorov] Just a minute. I will end.

[Khasbulatov] Good. Go ahead. Go ahead, go ahead.

[Fedorov] Esteemed deputies, in finishing, I would like to say that the position on the issue of complying with the Constitution today has no alternative but to reach agreement and reconciliation. All the rest is outside the framework of the Constitution and outside the framework of the law. And such an anti-law policy will devalue any progress we have made. The quest should be pursued by means of mutual concessions, from my point of view. And we do have something to discuss and to agree on here, both with regard to abolishing unconstitutional structures and structures which are above the law—both those under the Supreme Soviet and in a number of cases those under the president's administration—and with regard to transferring them to the executive and regulatory institutions set up under the Supreme Soviet and around it by the executive power bodies. This is not about Yeltsin, and it is not about whether the head of the executive authority should have more or less power—whether it is the current president or another one. We cannot permit ourselves the luxury of allowing the post of president to turn into a sham. The principle of the division of powers was introduced not out of purely personal prejudices but because of the very nature of political events.

Both the president's powers and role within the system of checks and balances to the so-called sovereignty of the soviets follow from the very nature of things and from the generally accepted rules of organizing the state. All power should not belong to anyone. What difference does it make, people of Russia, whether you are suffering the whims of the Supreme Soviet and its speaker, or of the president? All power should be evenly dispersed, not focussing on either Khasbulatov or Yeltsin, but on the law, which is the mainstay and which prevents anyone in authority from starting to abuse it.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

### Says Presidium 'Exceeds' Authority

*OW1103164393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1625 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nikolay Fedorov, Russia's Justice Minister, said that the Supreme Soviet Presidium has become a parallel legislature which often exceeds its authority, in particular in the budget and crediting spheres. Fedorov has also said that the Supreme Soviet Chairman has acquired infinite powers. Some of his orders circumvent the law.

The minister spoke at the Thursday's [11 March] Congress session which discussed the second item of the agenda, the observance of the constitutional order in the country. Fedorov feels that the top officials of the power branches must meet one another halfway, notably as far as elimination "of unconstitutional structures that have placed themselves above the law both in the Supreme Soviet and in the presidential administration is concerned." Whoever is the chief executive, "we cannot afford the luxury of a figurehead president," Fedorov said. He noted that the president must make "a system of constraints and counterweight of the so-called full power of the legislatures" work.

### B. Fedorov on Government Becoming 'Puppet'

*LD1103181893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1706 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Mar—"We do not want to be a puppet government, a shadow of the government we ought to have," Vice Premier Boris Fedorov said this evening at the Government press center.

He fully supports the thesis expressed at today's session of the Congress by Viktor Chernomyrdin to the effect that "we cannot be a Government with tied hands, and the Government cannot be effective unless it has all the levers of executive powers that it ought to have."

The vice premier said that "Russia's Government intends to take full responsibility for what is happening in our country, but it also intends possessing the appropriate powers."

Answering an ITAR-TASS question about possible government changes in connection with Yeltsin's criticism at the Congress today of the finance and economy ministers, Fedorov said that "no one has yet raised the question of replacing the leadership of those ministries."

Fedorov said at the news conference that in 1992, "Russia's gold reserves increased, as did the state's reserves of foreign currency." He did not, however, give any actual figures.

Sharply criticizing the Central Bank of Russia for its inflationary credit policy, the vice premier also said that, according to some assessments, the fact that inflation in Russia has increased by about a quarter is due to an unwise credit and monetary policy in relation to the CIS countries. In 1992 alone, Russia effectively subsidized the other CIS countries to the tune of $18 billion, the vice premier said, quoting Western economists. The economists said matters must be quickly put in order in this sphere, and "Russia's national interest safeguarded."

## Zorkin Delivers Speech to Congress 11 Mar

*LD1103225293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1146 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Speech by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Dmitriyevich Zorkin at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Chairman, esteemed Presidium, esteemed people's deputies. You have discussed our message, and I wish to remind you that it is not a message about anything and everything, but a message about the work of the Constitutional Court on the basis of the cases considered during the period in which we exist. At the same time, of course, while considering cases, we could not fail, following an analysis of that examination, to notice several general tendencies that could be observed in connection with the analysis of those cases.

In other words, we were dealing, approximately, with the effect of the fouled entrance. If the entrance to our block or to any town is fouled, then it is hard to hope that the state, society, and people have not been fouled as well, because, if we care for people, we will not allow the entrances to be fouled. So naturally, we did not just want to focus on several individual cases from the viewpoint of the life of the whole state, and we wanted to reveal several tendencies in connection with the development and the state of constitutional legality.

As far as I understand from the way the discussion has gone, theses of a general nature have not given rise to any objections of principle from you. I remind you, esteemed deputies, that they are as follows: There is a power crisis within the country, a sharp stand-off between two powers, an intensifying confrontation and, most importantly, this entails consequences.

I remind you of the consequences. Russia is experiencing one of the most difficult periods in its history. The economy is in decline. Citizens' economic and social rights are not being ensured. Inter-ethnic conflict is not abating. Crime is on the increase. A radical movement that pursues anticonstitutional aims is gaining in strength. The machinery of state is riddled with corruption. Nihilism vis-a-vis the law has become widespread, even among the Russian Federation's highest officials and its subjects. People's dissatisfaction with the authorities' inaction and with the confrontation between them threatens to cause a social explosion. The constitutional system of the Russian state is under threat.

We told you in December that there was a threat. Now we are obliged to remind you that we are standing on the brink of a catastrophe. We are warned that someone is engaged in the politics of catastrophism. I think, of course, that it would be good to retest these opponents, but, after all, not at such a price. Right? So, probably is it necessary to stop and think about this, if scientists warn of this, if the constitutional control body in the country approaches you. We share that part of the responsibility which devolves on us for this state of affairs.

And, esteemed people's deputies who spoke here, I want to say that you spoke of your anguish about the CIS, etc., and this is worrying us. Esteemed People's Deputy Pavlov: I draw your attention, inasmuch as you said here of the Constitutional Court that it has remained silent—you petitioned the People's Court on the CIS [corrects himself] the Constitutional Court on the CIS, but you wrote into the law, esteemed people's deputy, that judges are banned from speaking out on a case which is examined in a constitutional court. Do you now want me to pronounce on whether or not this is constitutional? [Shouts from the hall] In that case, change the law. Wait, we will examine it and have our say. [More shouts from the hall]

Esteemed people's deputies, the confrontation of powers probably needs to be overcome, because at this time catastrophic phenomena are proliferating. Corruption has been mentioned here more than once. This is not the only evil, but it is an immense evil. A state which is unable to overcome this will inevitably collapse. I must tell you that we have conferred and that a number of judges demand the examination of issues in the Constitutional Court, the constitutional responsibility of officials to the state in ensuring the struggle against corruption.

If you have [applause; changes thought] On 4 April a presidential decree on combatting corruption was issued. Show me a single corrupt individual! [Noise, shouting in the hall] If you have these materials, please approach the Constitutional Court. I am speaking not of criminal law responsibility. This is not a function of the Constitutional Court, but we are entitled to examine the question of how officials act. Officials have convened two noisy conferences. It was proclaimed there that it is necessary to combat corruption. We do not want Russians to later reproach us that the Constitutional Court remained silent. We will examine the matters within the range of our powers.

Esteemed deputies, this is a question of detail, even though a painful one. It merges itself into the general state of power which now has found itself unable to pull the country out of the crisis and, at the same time, for all Russians to see, is now demonstrating its inability to act, its inability to extricate itself from the crisis and to come

to an agreement. You said that there was a bad agreement in December. Yes, perhaps it was bad, but it was a chance to start issues of accords.

Divided powers cannot go on living in their separate pockets, knowing nothing about each other. We have to come to an agreement, we have to learn how to live together. What do we unfortunately see instead of that? The minister of justice, Nikolay Vasilyevich Fedorov, who is a lawyer and whom I respect, comes to the rostrum, and instead of analyzing, in his capacity as the minister of justice, how the decree on the National Salvation Front had come into being, how other acts that the Constitutional Court rules unconstitutional come into being—instead of this he exploits the rostrum to whip up confrontation between branches of power. [applause]

Esteemed people's deputies. Esteemed authorities and esteemed president. I am addressing all power branches, including judicial. Stop! Stop and learn to live together under the Constitution. The core of all problems lies here. I can say with full responsibility that on the basis on scientific and any other constitutional analysis, we, the Constitutional Court, think that—and the message reflects it—the crux of the problem is not in a bad Constitution. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that the authorities do not demonstrate an ability to live in accordance with it. [applause]

You were talking about ways out of this. There is only one way out—you should reach an accord. I am not talking about an agreement or a law instead of the Constitution, but about concord, which should be between normal and civilized people, moreover, between functionaries, politicians, rulers and lawyers, etc., who are in state apparatus and other supreme bodies of law-making authorities. If you cannot do this, we are prepared to share responsibility with you. We are not worried about losing our jobs. Let us then tell the people: We cannot guarantee order and discipline on the basis of law.

We propose to you, people of Russia, to reelect all of us together. [applause]

## Calls For Accord

*LD1103172493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1632 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin has called upon the executive and legislative powers to reach accord, or otherwise, give people an opportunity to elect other leaders.

Addressing the 8th Congress of People's Deputies, Zorkin stressed that the cause of the present crisis is not an inadequate constitution, but the authorities' inability to show that they can act in compliance with it. There is only one way out of the crisis - to reach accord," Zorkin said. [no opening quotation marks as received]

Zorkin explained that he means "neither agreement nor any other law to replace the constitution, but accord which should exist between civilised people, moreover, between functionaries, politicians, lawyers working in governing and other legislative bodies."

"If you cannot do this, we are prepared to share responsibility with you and let us say to the people: We cannot ensure order and discipline on the basis of law, we suggest that you, the Russian people, should reelect us altogether," Zorkin said.

"Confrontation between the two powers should be overcome, since catastrophic phenomena tend to grow in scope," Zorkin said.

For example, Zorkin mentioned corruption, saying that "if the state is unable to do away with this evil, it will inevitably collapse."

Zorkin said that upon completion of consultations in the Constitutional Court devoted to this problem "a number of court officials demanded to look into the problem of constitutional responsibility of state officials for combating corruption."

In Zorkin's opinion, a separate problem of corruption reflects the general situation in the bodies of power which turned out to be unable to take the country out of the crisis and reach accord.

Touching upon an agreement between the executive and legislative power reached at the previous congress last December, Zorkin admitted that "perhaps, it was rather poor, but it offered a chance of reaching agreements. We should learn to live together," Zorkin said.

In this connection, Zorkin reproached Russian Minister for Justice, Nikolay Fedorov, who took the floor before Zorkin, for "using the congress rostrum for building up confrontation between the two powers."

## Bank Chairman Gerashchenko Reports to Congress

*LD1203090693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1428 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Address by Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies session in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies: Lately the media published a whole series of interviews and articles, the authors of which tried to shift responsibility on the Central Bank for failures in the economic policy pursued since the beginning of 1992. It was assumed that from the beginning of the second half of 1992 the Bank of Russia has been implementing credit expansion which undermines the government's efforts to stabilize the

economy and deepen the market reforms. When there was a sudden release of additional means of payment in December 1992, as a result of which inflationary processes sharply increased, this was also attributed to the Bank of Russia.

Realizing full responsibility for the restoration of the stability of monetary circulation, normalization of payment and credit relations and development of the bank system, the Central Bank thinks it necessary to draw your attention to the fact that the credit policy which has been conducted since the second half of 1992 had a nature of an immediate and to a large extent forced response to crisis processes in the economy. The government attempts to try to achieve in the shortest possible time microeconomic stabilization by an unprepared liberalization of prices and inadequate rigid financial and monetary-credit policy provoked further fall in production, new price disparities and an increased discrepancy, which had been formed before, between gross demand and supply. The government, acting as the owner of state enterprises, on the one hand, did not provide the conditions for their speedy privatization and, on the other, provided them wide rights regarding the use of received income.

As a result, the greater part of the expenditures is used for raising wages, which only whips up inflation which does not contribute to an improvement of production. As a result of the sluggishness in laying down priorities in structural policy and drawing up measures to stimulate investment activity, and also the loss of control over the development of horizontal economic ties, Russian enterprises have lost their bearings for the adoption of rational production day-to-day decision. Moreover, they have come up against a very acute shortage of working capital which is necessary not only for expanded but also for simple reproduction.

Enterprises are being shut down on a huge scale cash and solvency crises have become intertwined with an underproduction and capital construction crisis. The experience of the first half-year period of 1992 has shown that the artificial contraction of budget expenditures, given the imperfectly adjusted system of budget revenue receipts, was sooner or later to turn into an increase in the deficit of the federal budget. The mechanical toughening of financial restrictions and of the increase in money in circulation against the background of a virtually uncontrolled policy of revenues and liberalization of prices in conditions of a highly monopolized economy had placed the Russian economy on the brink of collapse [previous word in English] by mid-1992.

None of the critics of the Central Bank has managed to provide a comprehensive analysis of what would have happened, had Russian enterprises not received a certain credit support. Allow me in this connection to briefly remind you the economic-political situation that had arisen by mid-1992: By July 1992 debts for wages and other monetary payments to the population exceeded 200 billion rubles [R]. By August 1992 mutual nonpayments of enterprises had reached R3.2 trillion and had increased 87-fold, compared with the start of the year. According to the data of Goskomstat, by the start of the third quarter of 1992 wholesale prices had increased 11.7 times, compared with December 1991, and consumer prices had increased 10.1 times.

The total money in circulation increased in the period in question only 2.5 times, and cash in circulation 2.7 times. Thus the proportion of goods to costs was disturbed, leading to a disorganization of the whole of the national economy.

The situation in the Russian economy was considerably worsened by unprepared measures to change the procedure and forms of accounting and by hasty organizational decisions. Masses of payment documents were held up, forming bottlenecks which brought interbank accounting to the brink of total paralysis. New rules for interbank accounting were introduced in haste and without the necessary preparatory work.

Another thing that aggravated the accounting problem was that in recent years a forcible destruction of large banks with vertical management structure was carried out and encouragement given to the setting-up of small credit and finance institutions which were incapable of conducting accounting operations efficiently.

In these conditions, the Bank of Russia was forced, as early as May 1992, to make adjustments to its monetary and credit policy. Whereas in January-April the rate of increase of the money in circulation fluctuated between nine and 14 percent, from May it rose to 27.9 and was maintained from June to October at the level of 26-32 percent. In December the growth of money in circulation was 5.5 percent, and in December, 19.2 [as heard]. In all, in 1992 cash in circulation increased 10.4 times, and total money in circulation 7.5 times. Wholesale prices rose on average 34 times compared with December 1991, and retail 26 times.

All of this proves in our view that in addition to the increase in the money in circulation, there were other factors influencing the development of inflationary processes. First among them were the monopolistic practice of price formation; intensification of the group egoism of state enterprises which were virtually out of control; increase of the goods deficit caused by the decline of production in many branches of the Russian economy; and the weakening of trade and economic ties with the republics of the former Soviet Union and of the countries of Eastern Europe.

Budget and credit restrictions have turned out to be excessive for the majority of enterprises which traditionally had been kept on the starvation rations by the state. In our opinion, in 1992 the indexation of the working capital was not sufficient. In our view, the following figures also prove the fact that enterprises found themselves on the starvation rations: Under the reduction in the volume of industrial production in 1992 by almost

20 percent, the volume of industrial products in real prices increased by 14.8 times—from R1.092 trillion to just over R16 trillion. The amount of granted credits, inter alia to the government, increased by only 7.4 trillion; that is, only by six times.

In fulfillment of a presidential decree the Bank of Russia carried out the offsetting of mutual claims of state enterprises. The regulation of the offsetting operation was done in two stages—on 15 October and 25 November. During the offsetting account documents to a total value of almost R2 trillion were paid and that allowed to relieve temporarily the burden of non-payments. Contrary to accusations that during the offsetting the Central Bank of Russia carried out an enormous credit emission, in fact, at the expense of centralized credits only R189 billion were provided through commercial banks with the repayment time before 31 March 1993.

At the same time on the government's request the Supreme Soviet, in order to facilitate the position of enterprises with the working capital, adopted a number of decisions in the second half of the year to allocate money amounting to R600 billion. The abovementioned measures made it possible to resolve the non-payments problem, which began to increase again in the fourth quarter, only partially.

A particularly critical situation has evolved in industries providing for vital needs, in the agro-industrial and fuel and power engineering complex and in the regions which require an early supply of goods. In these conditions the Central Bank granted centralized credits to commercial banks, mainly in line with decisions by the Supreme Soviet and the government. During 1992 R2.879 trillion were allocated; R300 billion were allocated following the decisions by the Supreme Soviet; that is about 10 percent, and on the government request—more than 53 percent. On the initiative of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation commercial banks were given R727 billion, that is 25 percent of the whole amount.

Over the period from May to December 1992 the centralized credits were given rather evenly and they fluctuated depending on season factors.

There was a sharp increase in the quantity of centralized credits in December 1992, amounting to R887 billion. This was linked with the granting of additional credits to meet the needs of the agro-industrial complex, about R300 billion and also R177 billion to meet the needs of the fuel and energy complex.

Miscalculations in budget and tax policy had a negative effect on the state of the monetary circulation. After changing the system of taxation without adequate preparation, the government was unable to ensure that taxes were received. At the same time, expenditure was artificially lowered. From the second half of 1992, budgetary borrowing from the Bank of Russia increased noticeably. The republican budget deficit was approved at R950 billion by the Russian Federation law on the budgetary system and a number of other Supreme Soviet laws and resolutions.

In practice, R1.167 trillion was directly granted to pay off the republican budget deficit. In addition, the Bank of Russia, in accordance with a Supreme Soviet decision and at the request of the government, paid out another R800 billion to supplement the working capital of enterprises involved in various kinds of special program. And taking account of the credits worth R600 billion granted in December 1992 as an advance on republican budget expenditure, again at the request of the government and with the authorization of the Supreme Soviet, the total debt has reached R2.5 trillion. The situation with the budget deficit would have been even more complex if during the offsetting of mutual claims within Russia the Bank of Russia had not ensured that additional payments to the sum of R2.267 trillion were made by enterprises into the budget.

The emission of cash in 1992 was compulsory in nature, and was determined by a policy based on revenue and the social protection of the population. The amount of cash in circulation increased over the year from R166 billion to R1.716 trillion million, that is, by 10.3 times, which corresponds to the dynamics of the monetary incomes received by the population. While assessing the situation in the monetary and credit sphere, it should also be pointed out that the dynamics of credit investment in the Russian Federation in 1992 lagged noticeably behind the speed of price liberalization.

The total sum of credit investments increased six times, while, as I said, wholesale prices, according to official figures, rose on average 34 times. Thus, taking into account the price factor, credit investments in real terms even decreased, and the proportion of long-term credit investments unfortunately fell—from 9.6 percent in January 1992 to 5.2 percent in December: it was almost halved. It is well known that inflation inflicts its most terrible blows on the standard of living of the population, investment and the banks.

In this connection the Bank of Russia in no way has an interest in cranking up the inflation spiral. Supporting efforts for macro-economic stabilization remains a priority task of the Central Bank of Russia. Yet the struggle for stable money, though it is the main task, cannot be an end in itself for the Central Bank. It is erroneous to suppose that the bank must take the stance of a detached observer of the processes that are taking place in industry, agriculture and building. The continuing decline in production and investment activity threatens the whole meaning of the operation of the country's banking system.

The prospects for the existence of commercial banks at the crucial stage depends upon our ability to ensure the repayment of credits. The destruction of production potential and the growth in the number of inefficient and loss-making enterprises—and that means one in five in

Russia—is also bringing the banks to the brink of the threat of mass bankruptcy. That is why the banking system has an objective interest in changing the motives of the behavior of enterprises, and ownership relations, in carrying out a vigorous structural and investment policy. There is no doubt of the correctness of the assertion that without stable money circulation it is impossible to extricate the economy from the crisis. But it is equally incontestable that in a situation of declining production, balance on the market will be achieved only through inflationary price rises and consequently to the detriment of financial stabilization.

So it is not only the policy of the Central Bank but all economic policy—or, rather, correct industrial policy—which has to face up to the fact that inflationary processes and crisis processes are interwoven. It is obvious that there can't be any easy and ready-made prescriptions here. There would be nothing easier for the Bank of Russia than to erect a Great Wall of China between its monetary and credit policy, on the one hand, and the needs of enterprises and regions, on the other. It would take absolutely no effort sharply to increase interest rates. However, first of all we have to make a succinct and clear analysis of the possible consequences of such decisions for industrial and investment policy, for the financing of the Republican budget. If somebody is pushing the Central Bank toward ill-considered and reckless decisions, then, as the saying goes, the country needs to know its heroes and their teachers.

If the practice of pinning labels on people is to be abandoned, we have to acknowledge that not only the public and enterprises but also the banking system have to adapt to the greatly changed situation. There is no denying that in this situation the Bank of Russia made miscalculations and mistakes. However, the crucial influence in the monetary and credit sphere has been and continues to be exerted by the growth in the budget deficit, in reciprocal debts between enterprises and in the cash incomes of the public. The interweaving of two crises, lack of purchasing power and under-production, has had a particularly unfavorable impact. The extremely acute shortage of working capital has, to a great extent, forced an increase in the budget deficit, in the face value incomes of the public and the amount of money in circulation. If this had not been done, social tension could have become explosive. However, we have had to pay for this with an acceleration and surge in the rate of inflation.

The Government of the Russian Federation and the Central Bank, therefore, found themselves faced with a choice: either to exacerbate the uncontrolled slump in production or to support the state sector with credit, given that the organizational and financial arrangements for privatization and the flotation of shares had not been made. At the present time the Bank of Russia regards its main task as being to restrict inflationary factors driven by changes in the amount of money in circulation. To this end the Bank expects to set targets for the rate of increase in the money supply and to get these endorsed by Russia's Supreme Soviet, to use the instruments of monetary and credit policy as a way of enforcing these targets, and, above all, to make greater use of interest rate policy in both the passive and active operations of the Bank.

The Bank of Russia bases its forecasting of the dynamics of the money supply on the belief that, if the trend established during the last few months of 1992 continues, the actual increase could come to about 30 percent. An acceleration in the rate of increase in money supply, in the context of an unbalanced economy, increases the danger of hyperinflation. Therefore, the Bank of Russia will do its utmost to prevent such a development of events.

At the same time it is difficult to regard a sharp reduction in the growth of the money supply, the path proposed by the supporters of an ultra-austere policy of financial stabilization, as being realistic. If this were to happen, the Bank of Russia, guided by the factors which I have mentioned, would be forced to terminate virtually all credit and to take steps to recover part of the credit which has already been issued, including some issued to the Government. However, the achievement of financial stabilization by an unrealistically tight monetary policy and credit squeeze will exacerbate a whole series of socioeconomic problems and make the government still more responsible for their solution.

Because of the restrictions on its ability to issue money into circulation, the Central Bank will not be able to allocate sufficient funds to keep the economy going, and a whole series of enterprises will be forced to go through the procedure of bankruptcy. In view of this the Government must, in our view, draw up a detailed program of restructuring, in order to define the industries and production areas which need credit support and those enterprises which don't need such support. In view of what I have just said, it should be stressed that, given the growing crisis in social and production spheres, the Bank of Russia may be forced to make a financial contribution to the resolution of these problems. Aware of the danger posed by such a development, the Central Bank wishes to adhere to a strategy of moderate increase in the money supply. Initially this should lead to a stabilization in the rate of increase and then a gradual deceleration of that rate.

In order to stabilise the amount of money in circulation, the Bank of Russia intends in 1993 to advance credit to the Ministry of Finance in strict conformity with the ceilings established by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on the growth in the state debt. The Bank of Russia regards it as especially important to ensure that the Government defines quarterly ceilings on the budget deficit as precisely as possible and takes realistic steps in 1993 to establish a civilised way of servicing the state debt. Since a high proportion of all credit goes to the Ministry of Finance, this will have a big impact on our forecasting of movements in the money supply.

Aware of how much responsibility we bear for the normalisation of the payments system and the restoration of its reliability, the Bank of Russia will do its utmost to ensure that it is extricated from crisis as quickly as possible. At the same time the adoption of world standards in the system of payments and settlements can be achieved through the implementation of a medium-term programme which has already been drafted. The first stage of this programme is earmarked for implementation before the end of 1993.

The Bank of Russia regards it as a priority to create conditions for the recovery of the banking system and its active participation in the solution of the economic and social problems facing society. While supporting efforts to establish a mechanism for interbank competition, the Bank of Russia believes, at the same time, that the emphasis should be placed for the time being on an intensification of the role of big commercial banks, above all ones involving state capital or state funds. They would be agents of the Government in advancing credit to state enterprises, industrial and agricultural organisations, and other vitally important industries. These banks could be given priority in the allocation and use of centralised credit resources and the regulations governing their activities could be made more flexible.

I would like to touch on yet another fundamental issue. Based on the experience of 1992, the Central Bank believes that its subordination to the executive authorities would in present circumstances be illogical, to say the least. This measure, in itself, will achieve nothing. Furthermore, all previous experience of the Bank being subordinate to the Government demonstrates that its ability to carry out policies which are independent of subjective views on monetary and credit policy is substantially restricted in such circumstances, but at the same time the Central Bank naturally advocates greater cooperation with the Government commission on credit, and, of course, with the Government itself, while believing that spheres of competence and responsibility should be demarcated. Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] Thank you, Viktor Vladimirovich. Take your seat, please.

## Further on Speech

*OW1103173293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1719 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking before the deputies of the 8th Congress of People's Deputies, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Central Bank of Russian (CBR), Viktor Gerashchenko, raised objections to put the CBR under control of the Russian government.

A proposal to that effect was made earlier by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. On President Boris Yeltsin's request, it was included in the congress' draft resolution in regards to Item One of the agenda.

In the words of Viktor Gerashchenko, re-subordination, per se, of the CBR to the RF [Russian Federation] Council of Ministers "will not produce any desirable effect since the Bank has very limited opportunities for pursuing finance and credit policy." The CBR chairman called for closer coordination of efforts with the government, with clear division of their spheres of competence.

In his words, the preservation of last year's trend at extensive monetary issue is fraught with hyper-inflation. Meantime, Mr Gerashchenko reasons that it would be equally dangerous to drastically reduce the money mass which measure is solicited by "some of the advocates of extremely rigid financial policy." In his opinion, this measure would compel the CBR to stop issuing credits to any agency, including the government. As a result, non-allocation of funds to Russia's enterprises would ineluctably bring about a series of bankruptcies. In the assessment of the CBR chairman, each fifth enterprise is insolvent.

## Report on Foreign Ministry Activity Circulated

*LD1103143193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—The Russian Foreign Ministry circulated a report about its activity among participants in the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, saying Russia's security in all dimensions was the top priority, together with efforts to protect Russian people's rights, freedoms and well being.

The ministry worked to ensure minority rights, create favourable conditions for democratic reforms and consolidate Russia's role in the world balance of influence.

The report says the nuclear war threat has receded and regulation of international life was more and more relying on international law.

Along with this, the report notes that some of the basic elements of the confrontational world order have not yet lost their significance with the concept of nuclear deterrence and the military force factor continuing to play a major role.

The Russian Foreign Ministry said old contradictions, including in relations U.S.-West Europe-Japan, continued to matter much, although new challenges have arisen threatening to destabilise the world development. These include nationalistic, inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts.

The report also summarises the results of Russian diplomatic activity in promoting relations between Russia and ex-Soviet and ex-socialist camp countries, and tackling such major international problems as arms control and the settlement of regional conflicts.

## Deputies Address 11 Mar Session of Congress

### On Constitutional Law

*LD1103173893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1146 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Remarks by Deputy Vitruk at 11 March afternoon session of Congress of Russian People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Respected Congress of Russian People's Deputies, respected People's Deputies, respected Congress Presidium. In accordance with Article 54 of the Law on the Russian Constitutional Court, and on the basis of the materials examined by the Court, a Constitutional Court message on the state of constitutional legality in the Russian Federation has been prepared. It has been sent to the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The message points out that Russia's constitutional structure is under threat, and that the state of constitutional legality can only be described as a crisis. The keynote idea of the message is to point out that without firm legal order based on the Constitution, one cannot ensure real freedom and human rights, or the integrity of the Federation, the effective functioning of the state mechanism, and the achievement of the aims of the reforms that are being implemented.

The Constitutional Court proceeds from the assumption that the present Constitution contains sound legal foundations and guarantees of the transformations that are being carried out. It is not the Constitution that is bad, but the way in which it is being implemented. The crisis with regard to constitutional legality has been brought about, not so much by the imperfection of the Constitution itself, as by the disregard of its provisions by state authorities and officials.

The content of the message adheres to the question put on the agenda of the current Congress of People's Deputies. The Congress of People's Deputies can adopt for examination the Constitutional Court's message, and, on the basis of the results of the examination, adopt a decision, or the Constitutional Court's message can be used as an official document of the Congress and taken into acount when formulating the final document on the question being discussed.

Thank you for your attention.

### On Constitutional Reform

*LD1103224093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1201 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Remarks by Deputy Vladimir Mazayev, member of the Drafting Commission, at 11 March session of Congress of Russian People's Deputies held in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Voronin] Esteemed people's deputies, The floor is given to People's Deputy Vladimir Mazayev, who represents the Drafting Commission.

[Mazayev] Esteemed colleagues, esteemed chairman. The Drafting Commission has instructed me to present to Congress the draft resolution of the Congress on the first question:

The Congress has adopted as a basis the version put forward by the Drafting Commission. At the same time, by its decisions, the Congress has included into the Drafting Commission the Russian president, the Supreme Soviet chairman, the premier, and representatives of heads of subjects of the Federation, in order to have a number of clauses from the presidential draft resolution coordinated in this draft with the drafts tabled by heads of administration and heads of republics.

On this basis, the Commission has done some work and found a certain compromise solution which is incorporated in the draft resolution of the Congress which you have received—on measures to implement the Constitutional reform in the Russian Federation—with the words: On the resolution of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies, in brackets.

I am about to inform you of the changes which the Drafting Commission Has introduced into this draft, or has deemed it possible to introduce, on the basis of the compromise and agreement.

Clause one. There are purely editorial changes in this one. We have decided to rewrite this proposal more correctly in line with juridical requirements. Clause one, part one, is now worded as follows: To implement the Constitutional reform in compliance with the procedure laid down in the Russian Federation Constitution. The remainder is the same as in the draft which we have adopted as a basis.

Clause three is unchanged, same as clause two.

Clause four—please could I have your attention—clause four is the one which has been agreed with the president and incorporates two relevant clauses contained in the presidential draft. However, they have been adjusted in order to bring them within the framework of the Constitution, or at least within the wide framework of the Constitution. Now clause four reads as follows: To put under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers and Russian Government issues of day to day state administration of the federal state property, of federal economic agencies; as well as the development, coordination, and implementation of anti-crisis programs in the sphere of the economic and social development of the Russian Federation.

Point two, part two. The chairmen of the Russian Central Bank, of the Russian Federal Property Fund, of the Pension Fund, and of the Russian Federation State Statistics Committee may, by virtue of their posts, be members of the Russian Council of Ministers while still

remaining under the control [podkontrolnost] of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Part three of this point: Account shall be taken of the conclusions of the Russian Federation Government when decisions are made by the Russian Federation's president and the Russian Supreme Soviet which require finance from the Russian Federation state budget and federal non-budgetary funds.

The main arguments for including these points in this resolution were presented by the president and premier. I will not, I think, repeat these arguments. I will just say that we have tried to set these points out here more correctly with regard to the Constitution and the law on the Council of Ministers.

Point five [as heard]: In point five we took into account a clause which was proposed in the draft by the heads of the republics, which was drawn up by the heads of the republics. With regard to another new point which was not adopted by you as a basis for the resolution—let us take a look at the second clause of point six, part two. We have already had part one, and we had taken part one—we had more or less just taken the idea from the draft resolution which the heads of the republics had proposed—and we added to the second clause of Part Two to bring it into line with the draft by the heads of republics. It goes like this: A commission should be set up to prepare draft laws, chaired by the president and made up of Russian Federation People's Deputies, plenipotentiaries of the federal executive power bodies, of representative and executive authorities of the republics within the Russian Federation, of the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and of towns of federal significance.

Thus we have introduced only two new regulations into the draft resolution. They are item four, and part two of item six, or rather the second sentence in part one of item six. Proceeding from this, from the fact that the draft resolution of the Drafting Commission has already been adopted as basis, the Drafting Commission proposes to choose the following course of action: As we have introduced a relevant proposal that has been agreed, the Congress should vote for this draft as a basis—vote for the basis—in order to register those positions that we have agreed to.

[Voronin] Esteemed People's Deputies, the Drafting Commission has made a proposal to vote on adopting as a basis the draft presented to you, taking the agreed amendments and additions into account. I put this proposal to the vote. Will the People's Deputies please vote. Voting is under way. [Noise in the audience]

[Voronin] Adopted as a basis. Now to amendments.

## On Draft Resolution

*LD1103170593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1202 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Address by Deputy Vladimir Mazayev, member of the Drafting Commission, at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, Esteemed Chairman. The Drafting Commission has instructed me to present the draft resolution of the Congress on the first question. The Congress has adopted as a basis the version put forward by the Drafting Commission. At the same time, by its decisions, the Congress included into the Drafting Commission the Russian Federation president, the Supreme Soviet chairman, and the prime minister, as well as representatives of heads of subjects of the federation, in order to have a number of clauses from the presidential draft resolution coordinated in this draft with the drafts presented by heads of administration and republics. On this basis, the commission has done some work and found a certain compromise solution, which is incorporated in the draft resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies, which you have received: On Measures To Implement Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation, with On the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies in brackets.

I am about to inform you of the changes that the Drafting Commission has introduced into this draft, or has deemed it possible to introduce, on the basis of the compromise and agreement.

Clause one. There are purely editorial changes in this one. We have decided to rewrite this proposal more correctly in line with juridical requirements. Clause one part one is now worded as follows: To implement the constitutional reform in compliance with the procedure laid down in the Russian Federation Constitution. The remainder is the same as in the draft that we have adopted as a basis.

Clause three is unchanged, same with clause two.

Clause four—please could I have your attention—clause four is the one that has been agreed on with the president and incorporates two relevant clauses contained in the presidential draft. However, they have been adjusted to bring them within the framework of the Constitution, or at least, within the wider framework of the Constitution. Now, clause four reads as follows: To put under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers and Russian Federation Government issues of day-to-day state administration of the federal state property, of federal economic agencies, as well as development, coordination, and implementation of anticrisis programs in the field of the economic and social development of the Russian Federation.

Point two, part two. The chairmen of the Russian Central Bank, of the Russian Federal Property Fund, of the Pension Fund, and of the Russian Federation State

Statistics Committee may, by virtue of their posts, be members of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Government while still remaining under the control [podkontrolnost] of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Part three of this point. Account shall be taken of the conclusions of the Russian Government when decisions are made by the Russian Federation's president and the Supreme Soviet that require finance from the Russian Federation state budget and federal non- budgetary funds. The main arguments for including these points in this resolution were presented by the president and prime minister. I will not, I think, repeat these arguments. I will just say that we have tried to set these points out here more correctly with regard to the Constitution and the law on the Council of Ministers.

Clause five: In point five, we took into account a clause that was proposed in the draft by the heads of the republics. With regard to another new point, which was not adopted by you as a basis for the resolution, let us take a look at the second clause of point six, part two. We have already had part one, and we had taken part one, we had more or less just taken the idea from the draft resolution that the heads of the republics had proposed, and we added to the second clause of part two to bring it in line with the draft by the heads of the republics. It goes like this: a commission should be set up to prepare draft laws, chaired by the president and made up of Russian Federation people's deputies and plenipotentiaries of the federal executive power bodies and of the representative and executive authorities of the republics within the Russian Federation, of the krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, autonomous okrugs, and of towns of federal significance.

Thus, we have introduced only two new regulations into the draft resolution. They are item four, and part two of item six, or rather the second sentence in part one of item six. Proceeding from this, from the fact that the draft resolution of the Drafting Commission has already been adopted as basis, the Drafting Commission proposes to choose the following course of action: As we have introduced a relevant proposal that had been agreed, the Congress should vote for this draft as basis; that is, vote for the basis, to register those positions that we have agreed to.

## Chernomyrdin Addresses 12 Mar Session of Congress

*LD1203095693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0723 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Address by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin to the Eighth Russian Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin Grand Palace in Moscow, including remarks by Deputy Supreme Soviet Chairman Ryabov—live]

[Text] Esteemed deputies. Well here, in principle, Nikolay Timofeyevich Ryabov has explained the situation which was created yesterday at the editorial commission, when the issue of the fourth point was discussed. I would like to use this opportunity to appeal from this podium to the Congress once again and ask: does Russia need the government or not? If it needs the government, then it has to work. Therefore, in order that it be possible to require anything of the government, does the government have, as they say, the right to resolve economic questions or must it only walk around with outstretched hands attempting to persuade everyone? We are not just asking for these to be subordinate, we are saying that all these bodies [the financial institutions] should be within the composition of the government, they should be seated at one table, so that they know what is going on in the country, so that they know how these problems are being resolved and how to resolve these problems. This is what is required from these bodies being within the composition of the government.

They are listed here. They are under the Supreme Soviet. Where is the contradiction here? That's one point. I can read out a second. If the government today is not in control of finances, if the government today does not manage federal property, then what kind of government is it? In April at the next Congress you will listen to me. What will you be listening to me speaking about? What am I supposed to say to you? That these issues are not being decided by the government. Therefore I ask—I am not asking you to remove me from my position—I ask, let's work. I ask, I earnestly ask the Congress—it is necessary in order to work—what kind of government of economic reforms is it, if the economic services are not part of the government. I ask you to support this.

[Ryabov] Viktor Stepanovich, I would only clear up one thing. We are not talking about bodies within the composition of the government, but that their heads take part in the work of the Council of Ministers. This is what is written here.

## Congress Votes Against Holding Referendum

*LD1203082493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0801 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—The participants in the Eighth extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies has adopted with a majority of votes a point in the draft resolution "On Measures to Implement Constitutional Reforms in the Russian Federation," which recognizes that the previous Congress resolution on stabilizing the constitutional system has lost its legal force. Thus the question of holding a referendum, planned for 11 April, also loses its force.

Thus, the president's amendment aimed at keeping the resolution of the previous Congress in force was not passed. It was supported by 276 deputies, 560 voted against, 70 abstained.

### Yeltsin Dissatisfied With Draft Resolution; Plans Address

*LD1203092093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0804 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—"The President of Russia is greatly dissatisfied with the draft resolution of the congress, which has been drawn up by the drafting commission," Vyacheslav Kostikov, the press secretary of the president, stated today.

"The overnight analysis of the draft, which was carried out by the president and his team shows," the press secretary stressed "that the adoption of this resolution represents the sliding of Russia toward the communist soviet power. The resolution is harshly restricting the president's opportunities to influence the political situation in the country and in fact deprives him of the possibility to issue decrees, instructions and decisions. Naturally, the president will find it hard to accept such a resolution if deputies vote for it."

At the Congress, Kostikov continued, clear-cut tactics on the part of Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the parliament, are being traced through. According to the press secretary, the speaker "is purposefully pushing the Congress toward a confrontation with the president. Having brought the congress to the brink of hysterics, he absolutely discredited this forum in the eyes of Russia's population—democrats and moderates—and in the eyes of the international community and, in so doing, he in fact annulled the Congress."

"The question is", the press secretary said, "that Khasbulatov plans to concentrate absolute power in his hands." "We are on the threshold of the absolute power of the soviets", Kostikov concluded.

He reported that Yeltsin will address the Congress in the next few hours.

### Notes Move To More Confrontation

*LD1203093793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0805 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Address by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to the Eighth Russian Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Respected People's Deputies, today the decisive moment in the work of the Eighth Congress has come. You are to adopt the decision that you are currently discussing. Besides the members of the editorial commission also taking part in it were the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the President and the Chairman of the Council Ministers. This has provided the opportunity to introduce into the draft decision a number of serious proposals, first and foremost of an economic nature. At the session of the editorial commission I expressed my disagreement with Clauses 2 and 7, since they completely rescind the decision of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. The references here with regard to Clause 9 are groundless, since in Clause 9 of this decision it is stated that the clauses, the provisions of Clauses 1 and 8 are not being adopted independently. That is, if one approaches this issue from the legal angle and from the point of view of the wording, then one cannot rescind all eight clauses, but two let us say. That is, one cannot revoke one clause, but one can revoke two. [laughter]

Three is all right too. You read them carefully; that is a blatant error in the decision of the Seventh Congress. It is precisely Clause 9. [uproar]

I think that the decision of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies did in the main achieve the goal set and managed to preserve a balance of powers, albeit a shaky and fragile one, in the country.

Its rescinding which is provided for in Clause 2 of the Congress' decision will ultimately cause an imbalance in their cooperation and in stead of the necessary accord, confrontation will deepen.

If it is adopted, then we are returning again to the situation which arose at the Seventh Congress. This means that the appeal by the President to the people and the counter appeal by the Seventh Congress again come into force. The most important thing which has supported public and state life for the last three months is being cancelled. If points 2 and 7 of the draft resolution are adopted then it will be possible only to talk about the principle of the division of powers, but in practice it will be impossible to realize them. In Russia there will not be the rule of deputies or dual authority, but anarchy. The authority of the authorities is falling anyway, authority will collapse as a whole, and the result of this will be the weakening of Russia.

I came to the Congress in the hope that nevertheless the spirit of agreement will be preserved, and I thought that, having met many people's deputies, they were also inclined to this. Nevertheless the document which is being adopted does not correspond to this spirit, the Congress has gone in the direction of greater confrontation. There is no compromise movement. I have done everything possible to achieve agreement. I have proposed variants of compromise, and listened to opinions although in many instances they were clothed in a vulgar and insulting form. Here responsibility for the referendum has been spoken about. If a decision is taken to hold the referendum—and I am in favor of the referendum—I, as president, take upon myself responsibility, so

don't be afraid that I can back out. [applause] I take responsibility upon myself for this referendum and the order at it.

There is now only an extremely small range of options available for maintaining the stability of the situation. If the proposals which I have set out are not adopted, then the president will have to seek some additional measures in order to ensure [noise from hall] well, you are thinking about your own affairs but I am thinking about something else. [laughter and applause from hall] you want to engage in demagogy all the time. [noise from hall] if these proposals are not adopted I shall then have to seriously consider taking additional measures in order to preserve a balance of powers in the country, to preserve, at least, that shaky balance which we have today, to preserve all the branches of power so that they can strengthen themselves and so that in 1993 we are able to eventually address ourselves to economic issues and strengthen the economy and welfare of our people.

I would ask the people's deputies to pay great heed to the president's proposal. Thank you. [applause]

### Walks Out After Vote Defeat

*LD1203084693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0836 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 ITAR-TASS—The Russian Congress of People's Deputies defied President Yeltsin again this morning when it turned down the president's proposal to delete from its draft resolution the provision on enforcing the articles on the Constitution on which a moratorium was imposed by the previous Congress session in December.

President Yeltsin walked out of the meeting hall straight after.

### Government May Resign if Congress Resolution Adopted

*LD1203101693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0850 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov from the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow]

[Text] Although the drafting commission, which worked on a resolution on measures to implement constitutional reform, included President Yeltsin's main amendments, which deal with and are of an economic nature, nevertheless, delegates to the congress voted in favor of Clause 2 of the resolution, which recognizes as invalid the decision of the Seventh Congress on measures for constitutional stability. Fedotov, minister of information and the president's representative, described this step as improper and politically harmful.

Delegates were on the verge of adopting Clause 7 of the resolution, which envisages bringing fully into effect Articles 109, 110, and 121 of Clause 6 of the constitution; in particular, it envisages the possibility on the part of the Supreme Soviet of suspending the president's decrees and it deprives the Council of Ministers of legislative initiative. This provoked the indignation of a certain part of the deputies, and Boris Yeltsin asked to speak.

In his speech he did not agree with such amendments. Incidentally, yesterday during the work of the drafting commission, he expressed his disagreement with the mentioned clauses of the resolution, namely Clauses 2 and 7. Yeltsin regarded this as upsetting the balance of the power structures and stressed that he takes upon himself full responsibility for holding the referendum, and, in so doing, he emphasized that he is ready to conduct it.

The president's speech has again heated the situation in the hall. People close to the government say that the resignation of the government is possible if the resolution of the Eighth Congress is adopted in this form.

Now, during the interval, deputies have gathered in factions. Intensive work is under way to elucidate points of view and positions at the regular congress crisis which has taken shape.

Members of the government also gathered to discuss the situation. It is similar to that at the Seventh Congress in December. It is questionable whether the congress will go for setting up a conciliatory commission as was the case at the Seventh Congress. It looks as if leaders will put the reasons forward right there on the rostrum of the congress. Incidentally, the president promised to put forward additional measures to resolve the constitutional crisis.

### Shumeyko Refutes Referendum Cancellation; 25 Apr Possible

*LD1203105893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1040 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Russian First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko believes the resolution of the 8th Congress of People's Deputies to rule the decision on the referendum null and void is unlawful.

Explaining the stand of the executive authorities to reporters here today, he stressed that "there was no article in the Russian legislation or the Constitution, allowing to cancel an already announced referendum".

As chairman of the government commission charged with the preparation of the referendum, he said that the commission had suspended its work for the time of the congress, but today it was resumed by a meeting with heads of the republics and administrative chiefs of territories and regions. "The voting stations are ready and the needed money has been allocated," Shumeyko

said, "and we are able to write in the ballots right away the questions, announced by the president."

In Shumeyko's opinion, "it will be exceedingly difficult to hold the referendum due to the opposition of the soviets. If it proves impossible to hold it, the president will still have the right to organise a nation-wide plebiscite". In this case, the people may be asked either the same questions, or only the one that the president had announced on December 10, during the 7th Congress: Whom do you trust to carry out the economic and democratic reforms in Russia—the president or the deputies?

"If we get a positive reply to this question," Shumeyko added, "the executive authorities will go on implementing the reforms in Russia. If the people say 'no', the reforms will be stopped and all that we have already achieved will lose sense."

"Since the law stipulates that one month should elapse from the day when the questions are published and the date of the referendum," the most suitable time for it is April 25, Shumeyko said.

### Shakhray Says Russia Weakened, Warns of Uncertain Future

*LD1203125693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1047 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—"Russia has weakened a little further." That is one of the results of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies taking place in Moscow, in the opinion of Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers. Speaking at a joint press-conference with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, he gave his assessment of the events taking place at the Congress.

Another negative result of the Congress, Shakhray believes, is the fact that "it could mark the end of the period of smooth reform in the reconstruction of the Russian state." "Unfortunately, we are on the threshold of revolutions, on the threshold of unforeseen circumstances, and we should not cross that threshold," the deputy prime minister stressed. He did not rule out the possibility that the authorities might still reach an accord before the end of the Congress.

Speaking about the ways in which the situation might develop, Shakhray noted that "both the Congress and the President have an arbiter—the people." "Unfortunately, the range of levers which might help to keep us on the verge of legitimacy has narrowed down to two—the referendum and pre-term elections." In the deputy premier's opinion, "it is better to go to the polling stations than out to the streets and to rallies."

Shakhray ruled out the possibility of actions to disband the legislative bodies of authority in the center and in the provinces. "That path is excluded," he stressed. "No political demarches of that kind will be made by the government."

In turn, Abdulatipov stated that in his view, "there is no conflict between the legislative and executive authorities." "All the authorities are in a conflict with the existing Constitution," he emphasized. "The more we talk about politics, the more we drive ourselves into a deadlock."

The Supreme Soviet, in the view of the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, "is called upon to follow the law, and if the Congress adopts a decision to hold a referendum, then it will be held." "To depart from the existing Constitution only complicates the situation," Abdulatipov stressed.

### Says Russia on Verge of 'Chaos'

*LD1203152893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1436 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The congress resolution "has buried the concord achieved at the 7th Congress, both power branches have weakened, same as Russia," Deputy Russian Government Head Sergey Shakhray told Vesti today.

"Time limit for reforms and smooth reform way of transformations ends at the congress. It has brought the country to the verge of revolution, street crowd and chaos.

"There are only two ways out of the crisis, either to hold the referendum—power belongs to the people, it can and must settle the authorities' dispute—or pre-term elections. There is also the way I have said about—the verge of revolutions, chaos and anarchy," said Shakhray.

### Spokesman Assails Attempts To Destroy Representative Power

*LD1203094593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0930 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 ITAR-TASS—"Forces now exist in our society which are seeking to eliminate representative power as such because it is the only guarantor of the development of democracy in our country and a barrier to the introduction of an authoritarian system in the country", a spokesman for the Russian Parliament chairman Konstantin Zlobin told journalists in the press centre of the Congress of Russian People's Deputies on Friday morning [12 March].

He was responding to the statement of the presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov who "allowed himself to voice absolutely ungrounded provocative accusations" levelled at Ruslan Khasbulatov earlier this morning.

"This is not the first time Mr. Kostikov makes bold to speak on behalf of the Russian people and the entire world community and sling mud at the head of the Russian parliament. This time he went even further when declaring that Ruslan Khasbulatov has annulled this congress and intends to concentrate all power in its fullness in his own hands. I think that this statement, as well as a cheap populistic phrase about the coming omnipotence of soviets (councils) is nothing other but an act of political provocation. There is no doubt that the presidential spokesman expressed not only, and not so much his own view".

### Gerashchenko Calls For Cooperation in 12 Mar Address

*LD1203120393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1023 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Speech by Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and deputies, people's deputies: On the whole as you know, last November a presidential decision was made that the chairman of the Central Bank be brought into the government. This decision did not contradict the existing laws on the Council of Ministers and the Central Bank. Therefore, there were no objections either from us or from any juridical services. I believe that this decision was aimed at better coordination of the work of the Central Bank and of the government, proceeding from the fact, naturally, that in its monetary and credit policy the Central Bank cannot not support the economic policy being conducted by the government and approved by the Supreme Soviet or Congress. If the heads of the Central Bank do not agree with any parts of the economic policy being conducted and consider that it would incorrectly reflect on monetary and credit policy and the stabilization of the ruble, then they have to state this openly, as they are held to account by the Supreme Soviet to decide issues in a constructive spirit. If the heads do not agree and do not meet with support in the Supreme Soviet, then naturally they have the right not to conduct this policy and resign, as all decent people do.

Therefore, there would be no contradiction in the proposed version if the Seventh [as heard] Congress does not adopt the amendment to the law on the Council of Ministers, which, unfortunately, I found out about yesterday evening, which says that the Council of Ministers can include the heads of other institutions which are in the government's jurisdiction. There is a slight legislative ambiguity here. Therefore, you are the legislators, it is your job to decide the best way out of this situation, but I proceed from one thing: The Central Bank cannot conduct an individual policy, it cannot live behind a great wall of China, it cannot work in ivory towers. The Central Bank or the State Bank of Russia—created in 1861, under the sovereign or emperor, under the Soviet Government, whether subordinate to the Finance Ministry—and there were such times from 1946 to 1954—or whether in the government, or since it has not been in the government since December 1992, but accountable to the Supreme Soviet—has always seen and observed its tasks in close cooperation with the government.

I believe that at present, much is going into this unconstructive argument between some representatives of the government and the state bank which is linked more to a search for culprits than with developing some kind of constructive policy. Therefore, I can assure you that the Central Bank and its present heads will cooperate closely with the government, but it will always oppose decisions which may take our economy into an absurd situation.

### Move to Subordinate TV, ITAR-TASS to Supreme Soviet

*LD1203101893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0952 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—A draft resolution of the 8th Congress, moving to subordinate the Russian state "Ostankino" TV Company, the federal "Rossiya" TV Company and ITAR-TASS to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has been handed out to the Russian MPs, a newscaster of the "Novosti" TV programme reported here today.

### Poltoranin Against Draft Resolution

*OW1203142993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Congress of People's Deputies is making a ruinous mistake if it passes the resolution on state TV and radio broadcasting, a draft on which should be considered during the evening session of congress. This was announced in an interview with journalists in the lobbies of congress by the head of the Russian Federation Information Center (FIC), Mikhail Poltoranin.

This document proposes that until the law on TV and radio broadcasting is passed, the Ostinkino and Rossia TV companies and the ITAR-TASS organization be subordinate to parliament.

This would mean that the leaders of these services, as well as of the FIC, would be confirmed by parliament in agreement with the president by March 22.

In Poltoranin's opinion, if the congress approves such a decision, the Constitutional Court should immediately declare its unconstitutionality. If the Court does not do this, then the FIC head did not rule out that Yeltsin could "simply ignore this decision of the congress." Poltoranin reported that a recent presidential ruling had created a temporary commission to prepare proposals

regarding economic and social support for the mass media. The commission is made up of journalists, writers, artists and the clergy.

### Congress Approves Resolution on Constitutional Reform

*LD1203111793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Participants in the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies approved, on the whole, by the majority of votes the resolution "on measures for the implementation of the constitutional reform."

656 people's deputies voted for that basic document of the congress, 184 voted against it and 11 abstained from voting.

### Chernomyrdin, Parliament Spokesman Zlobin on Congress

*OW1203111293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1052 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Whatever the circumstances, the referendum will be held, the more so since money has been invested in it already, Russia's First Vice-Premier and Chairman of the Commission for the Referendum, Vladimir Shumeyko, told journalists during an interval in the 8th Congress of People's Deputies. He also said that the referendum is likely to be held on April 25.

"Nothing alarming has happened during the congress," he said. In his opinion, there is no juridical force in Russia that can cancel the referendum. "There is no law which can do so," he added.

On Friday [12 March], the congress intends to adopt a resolution which envisages the annulment of the decisions of the previous congress, including the decision to hold a referendum on constitutional issues.

Shumeyko noted that Boris Yeltsin might raise the sole question which he had formulated during the 7th Congress of People's Deputies: Whom do the people want to carry out economic and democratic reforms—the president or the current corps of deputies?

Boris Yeltsin's Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov announced that the president and government had left the congress and would not come back. Kostikov is convinced that if the referendum is properly prepared, the president will win it and, on the basis of its results, be able to offer his variant of the constitution.

He also expressed the belief that no developments during the congress would prevent the president from holding the referendum.

Ruslan Khasbulatov's Press Secretary Konstantin Zlobin told INTERFAX that neither the congress nor the parliament is against the referendum. The deputies think that the questions must be carefully thought-out and the referendum itself should be properly prepared, he said.

In an interview with INTERFAX, Russia's Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin expressed hope that the implementation of the reforms would continue. He is also convinced that the government will achieve positive results.

The problems unsolved through the fault of the parliament make the government's work extremely difficult, he said. He also noted that the Cabinet continues to work tranquilly and hopes that the congress will adopt a provision enlarging the rights of the Cabinet.

### Highlights of Congress Proceedings Viewed

*LD1203114593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1131 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—"President Yeltsin has left the 8th Congress of People's Deputies and will not return to the hall," presidential press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov told reporters here at about noon today. He said that the "president and the country are heading towards a referendum" (according to First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko, the referendum will most probably be held on April 25).

Kostikov noted that the president's referendum questions "will be exceedingly simple, clear and comprehensive to all the sections of the population. I think there will be either two questions—on the presidential republic and land ownership —or a question that will just the same lead us up to a presidential republic," he noted.

The press-secretary said he was sure "the president will win" if the referendum is sufficiently well prepared. "And then, leaning back on the support of the population, he will be able to offer the country his presidential constitution".

"The government is now leaving the congress and intensive preparations for the referendum will be launched beginning from now," Kostikov stressed.

It ought to be noted that the congress had resumed work quite calmly today morning and there were no signs of any political storm. It broke out when the congress began to discuss amendments to the draft resolution on the first item of the agenda—on measures to implement the constitutional reform in the Russian Federation.

Chairman of the Congress Editorial Commission Deputy Vladimir Mazayev, who explained the essence of the amendments, informed the MPs that there were 149

corrections, nine of which were shared by his commission. Its members moved to waive the others, including two that were submitted by President Yeltsin. They were the stumbling block that has upset the congress. The president had moved to delete the following paragraph from the draft: "To recognise null and void the resolutions of the 7th Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation 'on the stabilisation of the constitutional system in the Russian Federation' and 'on the interpretation of separate paragraphs of the decision of the 7th Congress of People's Deputies of Russia on the stabilisation of the constitutional system in the Russian Federation'". The other read: "to fully put in force from the moment of this resolution's adoption Articles 109, 110 and 121 with mark 6 of the Russian Constitution".

President Yeltsin took the floor when the first amendment was already voted. He stressed that if the congress would not delete both these provisions from the draft, it would blow up the frail balance between the legislative and executive branches of government, achieved with such difficulty at the 7th Congress. The head of state implied that he was not afraid of any responsibility and wanted the referendum to be held.

After Yeltsin completed his statement and walked out of the hall, Deputy Yuriy Voronin, who chaired the session, asked the congress whether it was worth discussing the president's pronouncement or not. The congress's answer was negative. Yeltsin's amendment to delete from the draft the paragraph putting into force the three foregoing articles of the Constitution was then put to a vote. It was also rejected.

Thus, the president's key amendments were turned down and this, apparently, is the reason why some of the deputies crowded around the microphones, wishing to speak on the subject. But Voronin refused to give them the floor and announced a break.

### Kremlin Commandant's Office Denies Armed Troops' Presence

*LD1203132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1252 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By Gennadiy Talalayev, ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—The commandant's office in the Kremlin has just issued a categorical denial of the statements made today both in the Congress hall and at a news conference by deputies Yuriy Yudin and Mikhail Astafyev to the effect that covered trucks with assault troopers were moved to the territory of the Kremlin this afternoon.

Lieutenant Colonel Dmitriy Sergeyev, operations duty officer for the Kremlin, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "nothing of the kind has taken place."

Meanwhile, Congress deputies, having noted that all three "force ministers" [defense, security, and interior] were absent from the hall, instructed Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the parliamentary committee for legality, to check the statement made by the two deputies.

### Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, Zorkin Meet Behind Closed Doors

*LD1203115293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Parliamentary Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin held talks behind closed doors on Friday [12 March], Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Russian Federal Information Centre, said in the lobbies.

The results of the talks have not been announced yet. According to Poltoranin, the talks are aimed at finding a way out of the deadlock in which the congress found itself after it had rejected the president's amendments to a draft resolution on the first issue on the congress' agenda.

Earlier, it was reported that Boris Yeltsin had left the congress.

### Yeltsin Not To Address Congress 12 Mar

*LD1203141293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1338 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parlsmentary correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Mar—Vyacheslav Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, has refuted the announcement made at today's session of the Congress that Boris Yeltsin will make a television address in the next few minutes. "The president has left the Congress," Vycheslav Kostikov said. Kostikov added: Boris Yeltsin understood that he cannot establish a dialogue with this Congress. Boris Yeltsin understood that he has only one interlocutor—the people of Russia. He will address the people when the time comes. There will be no such address today.

### Yeltsin Will Appeal at 'Necessary Time'

*OW1203162793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin will appeal to the peoples of the Russian Federation, but not on Friday [12 March], the president's press secretary, Vyacheslav Kostikov, told journalists at the 8th Congress of People's Deputies.

According to Kostikov, the president left the Congress because "he understood that he would not find any interlocutors among the deputies." "Now the people have become his interlocutors," Kostikov said.

He stressed that Yeltsin would appeal to the people at the necessary time. The address will not be on Friday, however.

Shortly before 4 p.m., Ruslan Khasbulatov also told deputies that Yeltsin was preparing a televised speech. Even earlier, the parliament chairman had proposed that the congress observe how the executive branch conducts itself, and the congress decided to prolong its work through Saturday for this purpose.

The resolution on constitutional issues approved Friday by the deputies, was given poor marks by the president and other representatives of the executive branch, since in their opinion, his document will worsen the power crisis in the country.

### Yeltsin Aide Warns Congress Could End Reforms

*OW1203142293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1403 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President's Chief of Staff, Sergey Filatov, is concerned that the current congress could bring an end to the period of reform. "Some sort of game is going on now," he said in an interview with INTERFAX. He thinks that the congress was supposedly convened upon the president's request, but in reality this is a maneuver by which all formerly approved agreements are being rescinded.

Filatov does not believe that the president is going against the constitution or that he is attempting to introduce presidential rule. "If we wish to preserve a lawful state, we need to find a solution within the framework of the constitution," said the chief of staff.

He expressed the opinion that "these solutions are being artificially narrowed by the introduction of various amendments to the constitution, resolutions and so forth." "But we still have the referendum," Filatov said.

Russian Vice Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray also does not think that Boris Yeltsin is trying to solve the political crisis through presidential rule. He is more inclined to think that the president will rely on the referendum.

### Yeltsin Submits Referendum Questions to Congress

*LD1203150093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1440 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin presented the congress with a list of questions he intends to submit to a nationwide referendum scheduled for April 11.

1. Do you agree that the Russian Federation should be a presidential republic?

2. Do you agree that every citizen of the Russian Federation has the right to own, use and sell land as its owner?

The original list included four questions.

1. Do you agree that the Russian Federation should be a presidential republic?

2. Do you agree that a two-house parliament should be the only supreme legislative body?

3. Do you agree that a new Russian Constitution should be adopted by a constitutional assembly representing the multinational people of the Russian Federation?

4. Do you agree that every citizen of the Russian Federation has the right to own, use and sell land as his property?

At the Seventh Congress of Russian People's Deputies in December Yeltsin proposed only one question: Who do you entrust with the responsibility of taking the country out of the crisis: the present congress, the Supreme Soviet or the president of Russia?

This question was disavowed after Yeltsin and Khasbulatov signed a constitutional agreement which was abolished by the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies this week.

### Congress To Discuss Referendum

*LD1203153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1517 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The Eighth Emergency Congress of Russian People's Deputies ended the third day of discussion on Friday [12 March] by adopting a decision to resume on Saturday to discuss an all-Russia referendum urged by President Boris Yeltsin to decide the fate of a new Russian Constitution and who should govern the country—the parliament or the president.

Originally it was planned to complete the congress within two days.

### Congress Considers Early Elections

*OW1203161693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1557 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Congress of People's Deputies decided to include on the forum's agenda the issue of changes and amendments to the country's Constitution, in connection with the possibility of early parliamentary and presidential elections. The decision was based on a proposal from Andrey Golovin, a leader of the Change-New Policy faction, which belongs to the centrist bloc Civic Union.

A total of 532 deputies voted for Golovin's proposal, 222 against, and 42 abstained.

### Chernomyrdin Calm; Fedorov Rejects Congress Decisions

*LD1203160993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1535 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—"There are no grounds for any clashes. The government is working as are all other bodies. There is no reason for alarm," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said in an interview with a television news programme on Friday [12 March].

In the same news programme, Russian Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov described the decisions adopted by the congress today as "absolutely anti-constitutional" and "illegal."

"The congress adopted constitutional norms which allow for outlawing the president and making him a puppet president. I, as minister of justice, see that all activities of the congress in this direction run counter to the law and the constitution, gravely violate the system of the separation of powers and claim the ultimate supremacy of the congress. This, as history teaches, may lead to the absence of power and total chaos," Fedorov said.

### Volskiy on Report of Yeltsin's Appeal to West

*OW1203142393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1403 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs Arkadiy Volskiy told INTERFAX that he has not yet received a confirmation of the reports that President Boris Yeltsin appealed through German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Western countries for political support if he is forced to resort to emergency measures in his fight against the conservative forces in power. Reports on this were published in the London newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES and the American newspaper WASHINGTON POST.

Volskiy, who is also one of the Civic Union's leaders, said that if indeed such an appeal was made, he considers it an insult. On such issues, he emphasized, one should appeal first and foremost to Russia.

### Local Leaders Appeal to Federal Bodies for Concord

*LD1203151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The heads of the subjects of the Russian Federation have issued identical appeals to the federal bodies, urging them to immediately stop the confrontation. They have expressed their readiness to prevent the confrontation from spreading to the local level.

The statement was read out on behalf of chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of Russia's constituent republics, autonomous formations and national districts by Petr Sumin. A similar statement on behalf of corresponding executive bodies was read out to the congress by Yuriy Matochkin.

Both statements call on the heads of federal bodies to immediately stop all confrontation. The authors of the statements promise to take all the necessary measures to prevent the spread of such confrontation to the regions, because this would be ruinous for the economy of Russia and the life of the people.

The heads of the Supreme Soviets stress that "the only way to overcome the confrontation is to scrupulously observe the Constitution of the Russian Federation. This refers to absolutely everybody". In their opinion, this is the purpose of the resolution on the implementation of the constitutional reform, adopted today.

The heads of the executive bodies of the subjects of the federation moved to hold an all-Russia conference of heads of the local councils and executive bodies to work out ways to implement the federal treaty within the framework of the present Constitution. They call for the expansion of the powers of the local governments and executive bodies.

### 'Russian Unity' Resolution Urges Kozyrev's Resignation

*OW1203152993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1439 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Report by diplomatic correspondents A. Borodin, D. Voskoboynikov, I. Porshnev, and others from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliamentary bloc "Russian Unity" has proposed to the 8th Congress of People's Deputies a draft resolution "On Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev."

The resolution reads: "The Congress is convinced that by his activities at the post of the foreign minister,

Andrey Kozyrev has inflicted enormous damage on the external policy of the Russian Federation and its defensive posture.

"Taking this into consideration, the Congress resolves: Pass the vote of no-confidence to Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev for his gross setbacks in international policy issues which have inflicted serious damage on the defensive posture of the Russian Federation, and pose the question before the President of the Russian Federation in regards to his resignation and nomination of another candidate to the post of the Minister of Foreign Affairs."

### Barannikov Assures No Action Planned Against Deputies

*OW1203162893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1558 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at the Friday [12 March] session of the Congress of People's Deputies Aslan Aslakhanov, Chairman of parliament's Law and Order and Crime Combatting Committee denied rumors that actions against deputies were being prepared.

He said that he had received assurances from Security Minister Pavel Barannikov.

Earlier Mikhail Astafiyev, a leading opposition figure, said that, according to unnamed sources, a column of trucks with armed men had rolled into the Kremlin. This assertion was later proven to be false.

### Congress To Continue Session on 13 Mar

*LD1203125993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1248 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Aleksandr Mineyev]

[Text] Moscow March 12 TASS—The Russian Congress of People's Deputies has been adjourned until Saturday, as suggested by the Russian parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The resolution was passed by 609-152 vote. Khasbulatov explained his proposal saying that "the situation is not reassuring enough" to end the Congress today and that it is necessary to follow further developments.

### Reaction to Speeches, Activities of First Day

#### President Hopes for 'Common Sense'

*MK1203112093 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Interview with Vyacheslav Kostikov, President Yeltsin's press secretary, "Only for KURANTY" by Lidiya Lukyanova in Moscow on 11 March: "The President Is Not Trying To Scare Anybody"]

[Text] [Lukyanova] Is there a hope that the deputies will listen to the president?

[Kostikov] The president went to the Congress counting on the deputies' common sense, and he is making compromise proposals.

[Lukyanova] Do you think that there is a chance that accord will be reached?

[Kostikov] I think that a sensible reaction is possible because the president's speech was very forceful. He explained to the deputies what a responsibility they would be assuming if they rejected the reasonable compromise solutions proposed. I hope that the appeal to common sense will help to secure a compromise.

[Lukyanova] Let me be frank: It is somewhat offensive that the president is making threats, that he has to intimidate people all the time. By intimidating the deputies he intimidates all the citizens of the country.

[Kostikov] I have not heard any threat in the president's speeches. It is simply a call for common sense and a realistic assessment of the political forces standing behind the deputies. Significantly, the deputies were elected, excuse me, in "the previous century," while the president was elected only recently by the whole people. The president, as everybody can see, has prepared well for the Congress. I do not rule out the possibility that he has some fallback option in reserve. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin hopes for common sense from the deputy corps.

[Lukyanova] Does the president have any contingency options should the deputy corps fail to heed him in the end?

[Kostikov] There are also, in fact, sensible politicians backing the deputies. The president's call for a responsible attitude to Russia's disintegration and to the kind of aggravation of political confrontation that will lead to a deepening of the economic and political crisis will, I hope, produce an effect. The deputies will, after all, think before they vote.

#### Party Member on Leaders' Addresses

*OW1103164993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1625 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Konstantin Borovoi, leader of the Economic Freedom Party (EFP), thinks that Russia's citizens do not any longer have the strong president they elected once. He made this comment on Boris Yeltsin's address to the Congress in response to an Interfax question at a news conference on Thursday [11 March]. Borovoi felt that the president's speech was too conciliatory, notably when he suggested that the Congress set the date of the referendum.

What is going on at the Congress is not a conflict of two branches of power—rather, this is a conflict between two different concepts of the country's development, thinks the EFP leader. He made it clear that his party backs the president's concept. Borovoi said that he was struck by the hard line taken by Ruslan Khasbulatov in his speech.

Borovoi said that by its ruthlessness the Congress reminded him of the Chechen mafia "for which the most important process is establishing its power." As a result, the situation becomes dangerous and unpredictable, he added.

He claimed that the party membership now ranges between 150,000 and 200,000. In parliament its views are shared by about 15 percent of the deputies.

### Chances of Reconciliation Viewed

*OW1103143693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tartar President Mintimir Shaymiyev considered that there was still a chance for conciliation between legislative and executive branches at the 8th Congress of People's Deputies. He told Interfax that he was convinced that this conciliation would be reached via the drafting commission which was drafting resolutions for the forum on the stabilization of the constitutional system.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin are on the commission after a congressional resolution.

Shaymiyev was certain that the commission would produce a document which would include the proposals not only of members of the commission itself but also of the president and subjects of the federation.

Vladimir Lysenko, one of the leaders of the parliamentary fraction "Consensus for the sake of progress" which is part of the Democratic Choice bloc, told an Interfax correspondent that Ruslan Khasbulatov had spoken "with too much vigor," and his call for the resignation of Vice-Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays was "unconstitutional" and could only arouse bewilderment. Lysenko was also convinced that the president's proposals during voting on the resolution would not receive the two thirds majority required.

Speaker of the Karelian Parliament Viktor Stepanov told Interfax that the heated debate at the congress would "do nothing to make life easier for regions of the Russian Federation." "These regions," he continued, "were no longer paying attention to all of this and were continuing to address their own problems as usual." Stepanov said that the main priority should be to put the provisions of the Federative Treaty into effect.

Leader of the parliamentary opposition bloc Russian Unity, Ilya Konstantinov, considered that the president "had attempted to offer deputies an ultimatum in his speech while counting on the backing of the heads of republics and administrations." Konstantinov expressed his satisfaction with the fact that "the congress had not been intimidated." Ivan Rybkin, who is leader of the Communists of Russia fraction, also considered the speech by Khasbulatov to have been "too emotional," but vindicated its underlying message.

### Congress Said 'Geared Toward Defeat'

*MK1103131093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

[Anna Ostapchuk report under general headline: "Sluggish Confrontation at the Congress. It is Uninteresting, Banal, and No Longer Even Funny"]

[Text] Mikhail Fedotov, the president's representative at the Congress, and Vladimir Isakov, leader of the combined opposition, have basically the same assessment of the mood during the first day of the Congress.

Mikhail Fedotov: It seems to me that the Congress "is geared toward defeat." It is trying to revise the Seventh Congress decision and move away from the referendum. The best option would be for it to postpone the referendum by a month or by two to three weeks. However, even if the Congress cancels the referendum, which is very likely, it will find itself in the unseemly pose of an institution standing between the president and the people. The president in this event will only need to submit a complaint to the Constitutional Court about the unconstitutionality of the Congress decision. The deputies will do everything to revoke the December agreement and thus stop preparations for the referendum. The fact is, however, that no law says how this could be done. A referendum is a car that has no reverse gear.

Vladimir Isakov: The Congress began under the banners of the National Salvation Front. The ideas that we have proposed, namely the abrogation of the 12 December agreement and a return to the Constitution, are shared by an overwhelming majority of the deputies. The Congress has begun rectifying its own mistake and the mistake made by the president and the Constitutional Court. In my opinion, everybody will gain from this. I will support the referendum only on one condition—that the president comes out categorically in favor of holding it and himself puts forward the questions. In other words, that he takes political and moral responsibility for the referendum and its results. If, however, he continues bargaining—to the effect that if you will accept the constitutional agreement, I will call off the referendum—then the referendum must definitely be canceled.

### Centrists 'Quite Pleased'

*MK1103142493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under general headline: "Sluggish Confrontation at the Congress. It is Uninteresting, Banal, and No Longer Even Funny"]

[Text] Deputies supporting Civic Union think it necessary to repeal the December agreement between the legislative and executive authorities, while the all-Union [as published] referendum should be postponed for a year or 18 months. These were among statements made yesterday at a press conference by leaders of the Democratic Center bloc, which represents Civic Union in parliament.

"The December agreement was born in certain conditions, and deputies were not able to discuss it sufficiently," Vladimir Novikov, coordinator of the Democratic Center bloc, said at the press conference. The Democratic Center leaders therefore quite agreed with the opinion voiced in the report to the Congress by N. Ryabov to the effect that the agreement should be repealed. However, as Free Russia faction coordinator Irina Vinogradova said: "Although we fully agree with the main theses of Ryabov's report, it seems to me that some formulas would still be better toned down."

On the whole the centrist deputies are quite pleased with the way the Congress has started work. V. Novikov thinks the fact that the first day went without scandals or sharp confrontation between the executive and legislative authorities was to the credit of Civic Union.

### Republic Leaders View Debate

*MK1103124093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 1*

[Radik Batyrshin report: "Heads of Republics Pleased With First Day of Congress. But They Reject Referendum"]

[Text] "Everything's going fine," was the way Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan, summed up his impressions of the Council of Heads of Republics session and the first day of the Congress. According to him, Boris Yeltsin had to make a choice between the heads of the republics and the radical democrats at the Council session. Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev agreed with his Bashkorian counterpart, observing that the republics' opinion had had a salutary influence on the Russian president. Tatarstan Supreme Soviet Chairman Farid Mukhametshin stated that "Yeltsin's suggested form for polling the population is also in use in Tatarstan in order to correct the government's course, but mainly so that there is no political speculation using poll results."

Answering NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's question: "Why is it that the 'Law on the President of the RSFSR' was also included in the list of the constituent documents of the Russian Federation contained in the Council of Heads of Republics Appeal in addition to the declarations of sovereignty of Russia and other republics, the Federation Treaty, and a future law on its implementation," Kabardino-Balkaria Supreme Soviet Chairman Khachim Karmokov said that "the proposed list of documents is not exhaustive." Mukhametshin proposed adding to the list the adopted constitutions of the republics. The head of Tatarstan's parliament stated that if the Congress decides to go ahead with the referendum on whose power is more important, the republic will not take part in it. He emphasized that Tatarstan "does not ignore decisions by organs of federal authority which come within the sphere of shared powers." According to Mukhametshin, the republic has effected all payments into the Russian Federation budget for 1992. The head of the Kabardino-Balkaria parliament rejected the suggestion that a new Russian Federation Constitution should be adopted by a Constituent (Constitutional) Assembly, stating that "the Federation Treaty should form the core of the new fundamental law."

### Republic Leaders Criticize Yeltsin

*MK1203112493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Radik Batyrshin report: "President, Congress Must Reach Agreement. Republics Insist on Compromise"]

[Text] Yesterday Boris Yeltsin made a mistake that nearly proved fatal to him—on the eve of the voting on three draft congress decrees (proposed by the heads of the federation's subjects, the editing commission, and the president respectively) he combined the first and the third drafts into one document. Thus the Russian president compromised the draft proposed by the heads of republics, which came in only second in the ratings with 526 votes, against 623 votes cast for the editing commission's draft. It is noteworthy that 37 deputies did not participate in the vote on the federation subjects' draft. Perhaps it was because the 37 remembered that after the congress they would have to go back home. But the stances taken by Karelian leader Viktor Stepanov and his Yakutian counterpart Mikhail Nikolayev (as a matter of fact they were speaking at the request of the heads of the republics, krays, and oblasts, who had met yesterday morning) played their part—Yeltsin, Khasbulatov, and Chernomyrdin did participate in the editing commission's work. Thus the republics made good the president's mistake and forced the sides to accept a compromise draft decree during the commission meeting.

Murtaza Rakhimov, chairman of the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet, speaking with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, described Ruslan Khasbulatov's morning speech as "too emotional but essentially correct" and called the reports by the president and the Council of Ministers chairman "lackluster and fairly incoherent." He said that "the people surrounding the president are doing him no favors—he has to get rid of Nechayev, Kozyrev, Poltoranin, Chubays, and Shumeyko." The

Bashkir leader believes that, had different people represented Boris Yeltsin's interests at the Congress, passions would not have run as high. "It is essential to get rid of those who want to carry out the reform overnight," the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet chairman said. According to him, "the Supreme Soviet and the Congress do not prevent anybody, except for incompetent people, from working." Rakhimov stressed that Viktor Chernomyrdin needed to form a "competent team." The Bashkir leader stressed that Chernomyrdin should demand that the parliament give him a free hand in forming a government. He did not doubt that the Congress would take the best elements from the federation subjects' draft. Murtaza Rakhimov is of the opinion that the Congress should complete its work as soon as possible, because the longer it lasts the more irritating it will be for people. He said that "politics are made not here but in the regions." The Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet chairman denied allegations that the republic heads were purportedly preparing a "Belovezhskaya Forest" on a Russian scale. "It is we who have constantly advocated maintaining the unity of both the Union and Russia; had we behaved like the Moscow leaders, the country would have broken up long ago," Murtaza Rakhimov stated. "Russia is still holding up only thanks to its regions," the Bashkir leader believes. Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Tatarstan Supreme Soviet, agreed with his Bashkir counterpart, saying that "prolonging its proceedings will backfire on the Congress, because the people will become disenchanted with the institution." Mukhametshin argues that all three drafts should be merged into one and put to a vote. He said that "the territories' opinions cannot be ignored." Mikhail Nikolayev, president of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), who emerged from the editing commission meeting, said that "my proposal, accepted by the Congress, for including Boris Yeltsin, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Viktor Chernomyrdin on the commission made it possible to stabilize our work." According to Nikolayev, the editing commission approved the key provision of the draft proposed by the federation's subjects, namely that a special commission under the president be set up to draw up the law on principles and mechanisms for the implementation of the Federation Treaty. "We do not feel the political crisis back in the regions: In Yakutia, as in other republics, both the president and the parliament and the government work together," Nikolayev said. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) president is confident that the crisis will not spread any deeper because locally the situation is "under control." Mikhail Nikolayev held up as an example his own republic, where "the key sectors are operating at above last year's level." He hopes that "the pre-crisis situation" in the first half of the Congress day will be stabilized by the updated draft prepared by the editing commission. Mikhail Nikolayev expressed his confidence that the Congress would end up by adopting a decree "satisfactory for all sides, particularly the people of Russia [rossiyane]." "Unfortunately, there is no understanding between the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman and the Russian president, and unless it is reached in the near future, the people of Russia will no longer tolerate it," the Yakutian leader stressed. President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan is sure that both the president and parliament are at one that the referendum is not needed. "It is hard for Boris Yeltsin to say it himself, however, which is why he prefers to have the republics do it," the Tatarstan president noted. According to him, "the president and the Congress are bound to reach agreement—there is simply no other way out."

### Conflict With Khasbulatov Viewed

*MK1203110693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov commentary under "Opinion" rubric: "Is Yeltsin Losing Congress? Khasbulatov Stops 'Shielding' President and Launches Attack on Him"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin made a big (and possibly fatal) mistake by starting an open conflict with Ruslan Khasbulatov in December. Indeed, until 10 December the parliament chairman was more of a buffer protecting the president from attacks by the radical opposition, and at decisive moments he, in fact, prodded both the Supreme Soviet and the Congress toward a compromise with the executive authority. One may of course argue that Ruslan Imranovich was not being entirely unselfish in pursuing this policy. His bold maneuvers turned the parliament chairman into the second most important person in the state.

Still, until December, Khasbulatov, at least outwardly, was siding with Yeltsin, and while he leveled the most severe criticism against the executive, he never failed to add: We must preserve our president from the radicals who have found their way into his entourage.

Now, however, the parliament chairman is clearly demonstrating that the present conflict between the executive and legislative authorities is fraught with every possible outcome. One day before the start of the Eighth Congress, apparently not placing much reliance in the president's Kremlin security service, Khasbulatov called in 80 men of his own security force.

The parliament chairman's tough line was demonstrated by his refusal to appoint as members of the commission to prepare the draft "On the Stabilization of the Constitutional System" two faithful supporters of the president: Mikhail Fedotov and Mikhail Poltoranin.

The extremely sharp speech by parliamentary deputy chairman Nikolay Ryabov was also fully agreed with Ruslan Imranovich. The text of Ryabov's address is known to have existed in only two copies, and one of them was passed on to Khasbulatov in good time.

The executive appears to have clearly underestimated all the unfortunate consequences for itself that conflict with Khasbulatov could entail. At any rate, many thought that Boris Yeltsin's address yesterday was extremely weak. "It was simply a 'bowl of noodles' cut out from all sorts

of drafts and variants," an executive representative told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent. The author of the president's speech is unknown. There was hardly one author. So far only Andronik Migranyan has admitted his part in presidential addresses, stating that his opinion had been taken into consideration in the first part of the speech, where Yeltsin described a president as the necessary guarantor of stability and of the reforms being carried out in this country.

Viktor Chernomyrdin's address looked substantial and convincing (at least, the economic part). Observers say, however, that again, it was more suited to a party-economic aktiv than to the Congress. Chernomyrdin's political stance (which actually coincided with that of the president) did not look any too independent.

Sergey Shakhray is today the chief ideologist and drafter of policy for the executive in its conflict with the legislative structures. It is he who has been entrusted with "securing victory," and he is the author of all agreements and of the Law on Power, which the president has either already published or is going to publish when the time is right.

### Shumeyko on 'Political Crisis'

*PM1103154293 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "A Referendum Is Necessary, and It Will Take Place Sooner or Later. That Is First Vice Premier V. Shumeyko's View"]

[Text] What is happening in Russia today is not a constitutional crisis, but a political crisis. The choice is this—either the continuation of the economic reforms that have begun, meaning the dismantling of state ownership and tough financial measures, or else the rejection of these reforms in favor of planning and subsidies, as the majority of Russian Federation people's deputies advocate. That is how V. Shumeyko, government first vice premier, summed up the course of the debates on the first day of the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, at a press conference on the evening of 10 March.

He reported that the two branches of power had both prepared for the Congress, but in different ways. The ideas with which representatives of the executive turned up for the Congress were and are based on the desire to reach a consensus. The president stressed that every available means must be used in order to achieve this goal, or else the reforms cannot continue. The representative power's Congress scenario was drawn up in the opposite direction, as the first day showed. As if by chance, at the suggestion of a people's deputy, the first item on the agenda proposed by the Supreme Soviet—the referendum—was replaced by a discussion of the previous Congress' resolution. Equally by chance, N. Ryabov's report turned up out of the blue, a report which he supposedly delivered purely on his own behalf. And with this speech, couched in aggressive tones, he effectively cast aside the opportunity for consensus. Those who drew up the Supreme Soviet's scenario had probably expected the president to react sharply, plunging everything into confusion. (Ryabov likened the president to a top civil servant. How could the people have voted for a civil servant?) But it did not work out that way. Even when, evidently in haste, a draft Congress resolution on this question, blocking the political reforms, was proposed, the president once again made a move toward conciliation—he proposed the formation of a conciliation commission.

The results of the discussion are less than reassuring. Of 22 speakers, only three deputies came out in favor of the referendum as the most effective means of resolving the crisis. Some speakers cited the heads of the republics, saying that they too are against the referendum. Of course they are against it, because they have a quieter life under a strong Congress which does not affect them than under a strong president elected by the whole people who, by the will of their own peoples, can demand the implementation of reforms. The opinion of the heads of republics must be taken into account, but they are not entitled to threaten the people of Russia with the disintegration of the state and to dissuade them from holding the referendum. I am convinced that it is necessary, and that it will take place sooner or later, V. Shumeyko stressed.

Answering journalists' questions, the first vice premier said, in particular, that approximately 420-430 deputies at the Congress support the president's position; if there is no referendum a poll must be held, possibly with the participation of UN observers. Its results, if they prove positive, will serve as political support for the president. As for the outcome of the Congress, the first vice premier stressed that it is hardly likely to make any amendments to the Constitution.

### Article on Ryabov Speech

*PM1103164293 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Otto Latsis article: "In Whose Name Did Ryabov Speak Out So Intransigently?"]

[Text] Nikolay Ryabov marked his debut at the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies with a speech whose confrontational style can hardly have been other than intentional. "Civil servant" leveled at the Russian Federation president, "political adventurism" leveled at the supporters of the referendum and therefore the president too, "unilateral concession" to the president leveled at the agreement adopted by the Seventh Congress; this is all too reminiscent of the most obnoxious attacks on B. Yeltsin which provoked him to indignation at the Seventh Congress. Furthermore, if you bear in mind the serious political accusations contained in this speech—for instance, the charge of violating the Constitution—it is hard to escape the suggestion that someone is trying to provoke the president into ill-considered steps which would weaken his position.

However, there is not much point in speculating about the tactical devices and desires of those who defend the omnipotence of the Congress, especially since much will have become clear by the time this issue of the newspaper reaches the readers. Let us note only those political aspects of the speech that require no guesswork. The points contained in the agreement which N. Ryabov offered to the president would, if adopted, mean not just unilateral concessions by the other side, but total capitulation to those who would like to turn the Congress into a new "leading and guiding" force. Simultaneous early elections are proposed, which would mean a bigger reduction in the president's term of office than in the parliament's term. Moreover the proposed timing of the elections—in spring 1994—will most likely coincide, as far as can be predicted today, with the low point of the economic recession. All the good products of the reforms will still be in the future, but all the hardships of the transition will already be weighing in the scales of political choice.

In addition, according to N. Ryabov's proposal, the Supreme Soviet and president will pledge not to take any steps that would disrupt the balance of legislative and executive power enshrined in the existing Constitution, and to comply strictly with the Constitution. So the parties to this agreement are the Supreme Soviet and the president. What about the Congress? It makes no pledges. This is the very same Congress that could very well lay claim to an entry in the Guinness Book of World Records, for having amended that same Constitution, including the balance of powers, 320 times in a short period, rendering it utterly contradictory. This is the very same Congress that adopts an agreement in December, and then in March, through the lips of N. Ryabov, starts saying that it was wrong, and would like to gp back on the agreement. How many times, in that case, will it change its mind over the next year? Yet in the course of that year N. Ryabov proposes, even before the adoption of a new Constitution, that draft laws be drawn up on the supreme legislative body, on elections of deputies and the president, and on political parties and sociopolitical movements.

The question arises: Why should I, as a voter, who could decide the fundamental issues with my vote in a month, rely instead once again on the word of honor of politicians who are not inclined to keep their word? Just look at the procedural tricks that accompanied this speech! A report from N. Ryabov on behalf of the Supreme Soviet Presidium is announced, standing orders are presented accordingly, and then it turns out that this speech does not have the legal status of a report because neither the Supreme Soviet nor the Supreme Soviet Presidium has approved it. Basically it is nothing but the personal opinion of Deputy N. Ryabov, who received privileged conditions for expounding it. Incidentally, at first N. Ryabov would not answer a question about the status of his "report," and only after a second, insistent demand was the truth arrived at.

All this is playing with fire. Five months—October through February—of monthly 25-30 percent price rises have brought us to the very edge of the quicksands of hyperinflation. Escape from the danger zone is impossible while there are three hands on the helm of the economic ship: those of the government, parliament, and the parliament-controlled Central Bank. The bank is not going along with the government's proposals on adjusting a credit policy which is generating inflation. Economic stabilization is hampered specifically by the defective political mechanism. The nature of this defect is well known: It is the violation of the constitutional principle of separation of powers. The government does not have full executive power, yet responsibility for the economic difficulties is attributed to it.

The parliamentary leaders, bogged down in the struggle for their own omnipotence, are driving the country toward anarchy.

## Participants View Prospects for Consensus

*PM1103181693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Backstage at the Congress: Antagonistic Cooperation or Strategic Turning Point"]

[Text] The confrontation at the Congress has intensified sharply—that was the conclusion drawn by virtually everyone who observed the course of the 11 March morning session. The speeches of three top state officials finally set fire to the gloomy and tedious antagonism over the referendum and introduced into the debate the element of peremptoriness that was so eagerly awaited by many political groupings.

Passions flared—and the flare momentarily illuminated the abyss of confrontation from which, as it transpires, society is only one step away. And the most sober-minded politicians immediately wondered: Is a real, long-lasting consensus possible? If so, where is it to be found?

Vladimir Lukin, people's deputy and Russian ambassador to the United States:

"The basis for consensus lies, perhaps, in the fact that all of us, in our own way, are interested in Russia's revival. It is just that the leaders have to get a grip on themselves and be just a little more interested in that than in holding on to their own power. As for me, for instance, for the sake of unity I am prepared immediately to leave my post, and I would like everyone to join me in that statement. I think today we should widen the circle of those who stand close to the president and make his entourage conform more closely to the actual political spectrum in the country. Boris Yeltsin probably realizes this, but this realization should be followed by real action."

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, leader of Civic Union:

"There is an element of contradiction in the stance of the president and his supporters—while insisting on strengthening the role of the Council of Ministers, they are at the same time objecting to the granting of legislative initiative to the government. A basis for cooperation could be found in a number of measures capable of bringing the country out of the economic crisis. These include extending the government's powers and increasing its autonomy and its ability to pursue a firm and consistent policy in all spheres. The possibilities of creating a coalition government are now being discussed, and Civic Union believes that this would be the best route to consensus."

Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations:

"The Constitution stipulates a certain freedom of action for the president, for parliament, and for the government. The situation itself will force all these branches of power to find a way out of this situation and embark on joint work. A characteristic note was struck by the behavior of Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Yuriy Voronin, chairing the morning session, who clearly sought precisely this balanced approach. The question of the referendum has been dropped for the time being, and it is now a matter of longer-term plans. I think antagonistic cooperation of this kind will continue."

Vladimir Isakov, leader of the Russian Unity bloc of factions:

"The strategic basis for consensus could be a radical change in the course of the reforms, which cannot really be called reforms today—at the moment it is simply economic adventurism.

"Changes are needed in the composition of the government, where at present there is no clear leader, but a number of people who make all their decisions directly with the president, without even consulting one another. This is absolutely intolerable. Progress can be made only on the basis of the aforesaid changes. But I am afraid that the president is not capable of such steps at the moment, if at all. Apparently he is once again indulging in political games, hoping to outplay the Congress yet again. But this game can only be won temporarily, and a strategic victory cannot be won by devious tricks of any kind.

"Clearly the president is very reluctant to acknowledge the failure of the course of reforms. Clearly the radicals who cluster around him are doing everything they can to keep the head of state to this erroneous path, pursuing their own personal interests, but there are also the interests of Russia and of its millions of citizens. What can rank above that?"

## Yushenkov, Rumyantsev on Yeltsin Speech

*PM1203150593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Concerning Boris Yeltsin's Speech"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin's speech to the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies Thursday [11 March] was described as "well-considered and balanced" by Sergey Yushenkov, leader of the "Radical Democrats" faction of deputies. In an interview given to INTERFAX he expressed the opinion that, while the president exhibited toughness toward the position of Nikolay Ryabov and the congress drafting commission, he also spoke unequivocally in favor of seeking compromises and agreement.

Oleg Rumyantsev, executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, considers that Boris Yeltsin's speech "stood out favorably from the sharply confrontational speech by Nikolay Ryabov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. However, the president is flirting intolerably with the autonomous formations. That is a serious political error," Oleg Rumyantsev said.

## 'Mood' of Congress Characterized

*PM1203125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 1*

[Lyubov Tsukanova article under the "Chronicle of the Day" rubric: "Deputies Working in a Spirit of Agreement—Among Themselves"]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov has praised deputies several times in the last two days for their calm, constructive work. Satisfaction with the fruitful work of the congress was also expressed yesterday by participants in the press conference of the so-called opposition bloc "Russian Unity." Indeed, compared with the preceding one, the Eighth Extraordinary Congress is proceeding almost peacefully. One might be glad at the increased maturity of the supreme representative organ if agreement had been reached on the basis of deep understanding of the impossibility and destructiveness of further confrontation between the branches of power. Unfortunately, the nature of this calmness is quite different. From congress to congress the feelings expressed by the united opposition (and which were most often a source of rowdy scenes) would take possession of the masses, and today one can quite accurately state that it is not just the members of the "Russian Unity" bloc but also the so-called "center" and certainly the "swamp" [term used to categorize Congress deputies not openly committed to government or opposition sides] which have become exponents of the interests of the opposition and its views. The "constructive" work of the congress is thus in no way due to an enhanced level of political awareness on the part of the people's elected representatives but to the increased confidence in their own strength felt by the majority of deputies.

The democratic factions of congress held their own press conference yesterday, where it was claimed that the extraordinary congress amounts to preparation designed to ensure that the ordinary April congress no longer poses any obstacles to making amendments to the Constitution which will substantially shrink the president's

powers and which will effectively carry out a constitutional coup by outwardly legal methods.

The struggle that developed over the decree on the first item on the agenda clearly showed how a sense of absolute power is preventing the congress from reaching agreement and really seeking a compromise rather than demanding one-sided concessions. That no one should possess absolute power was the main thesis of yesterday's speech by Russian Federation Justice Minister Nikolay Fedorov on the question of observing the Constitution. Violation of the principle of the separation of powers, appropriation of executive and administrative functions by the Supreme Soviet, the transformation of the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet into "the top official with unlimited powers" are all links in a single systematic chain of violations of the Russian Federation Constitution. The message "On Constitutional Legality in the Russian Federation" sent to the Congress by the Constitutional Court describes how disregard of the Basic Law on the part of the supreme organs of state power and top officials poses a threat to the constitutional system.

## Political Affairs

### Foreign Ministry Refutes Kozyrev's 'Civil War' Comment

*OW1103193693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1908 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry's information department refuted a report from international Canadian radio on March 9 claiming that Andrey Kozyrev had warned that if the Congress of People's Deputies currently being held in Moscow goes against President Boris Yeltsin's plan, a civil war could break out in the country. The Foreign Ministry's Department of Information and the Press said the report on Canadian radio "does not correspond to reality and is a grave falsehood."

### Kostikov Assesses Yeltsin, Current Political 'Abnormality'

*PM1203104393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 2*

[Interview with Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, by political observer N. Dolgopolov: "Romance with President"; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Dolgopolov] How do you get on with the president at work? What kind of relationship is taking shape—strictly official, confidential, comradely?

[Kostikov] I would say the relationship has been evolving. At first it did not shape up easily, if only because Yeltsin is extremely busy. He does not have time to engage in sentimental assessments—they love him, they love him not—or different people's attitudes about him. He is a workaholic himself, working from morning until late in the evening, and frequently even at night. Boris Nikolayevich sleeps for a very short time, for four or five hours a night. Therefore he values, above all, people who sincerely and entirely devote themselves to their work, those who are of real benefit. This man attaches himself heart and soul, albeit slowly and gradually, to the people who work hard for him. This attachment manifests itself not in affectionate words or indulgences. He makes no allowances for anyone—either himself or his employees. The whole change of relationship probably lies in the expression of his eyes. He has gray, severe, probing eyes. I would call them intense. He cannot bear it if his interlocutor looks away during a conversation and, conversely, he himself looks you in the eye all the time.

[Dolgopolov] This is something from the realms of hypnosis.

[Kostikov] I believe that this is connected with certain features of Yeltsin's character, and I would even apply the fashionable word extrasensory perception to him. He possesses great power of suggestion. Tremendous! When you come within his powerful field, you feel this, and he feels it too.

[Dolgopolov] So, what about his eyes?

[Kostikov] During the first few months, when he was getting accustomed to me, the president knew, of course, that it was Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Kostikov, his press secretary, coming to him. His eyes were—you cannot say indifferent, but remote. He did not yet see me as his helper. Then his eyes grew warmer. Today our relationship is shaping up very well. You see, I have on my desk a telephone inscribed "The President." If I am needed, Yeltsin calls.

[Dolgopolov] A direct line?

[Kostikov] Direct.

[Dolgopolov] Does it work in reverse?

[Kostikov] Of course. A simple connection: Boris Nikolayevich has a telephone on his desk—"Press Secretary." A buzz, a little light lights up, and he knows who is calling. He lifts the receiver and says: "Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, I am listening." I never call without good reason. Only when I have some major piece of information. Of course, I do not seek to encroach upon political spheres that are not my scene. My business is the press and public opinion. I consider it my duty to inform the president about changes in public opinion, about interesting articles, and about ideas surfacing on the newspaper pages.

[Dolgopolov] I did not suppose that it is you who does this.

[Kostikov] It is I. Verbally, as a rule. Because he gets so much written information, in the form of documents. There is the analytical department and the current information department, which prepares daily reviews of the newspapers, for example. But Boris Nikolayevich does not always get the time to read five or six pages. Therefore sometimes I need to call him, draw his attention to something, and advise him to be sure to read it.

[Dolgopolov] Does the press secretary have influence over the president? Or can he exert such influence? For example, in the matter of Yakovlev's dismissal from television—did you not attempt to put up a fight, to defend Yegor Vladimirovich somehow?

[Kostikov] I remember that episode. It came as a shock. It was precisely an instance when the press secretary's opinion did not coincide with the president's. I said this bluntly to Boris Nikolayevich. What is more, I wrote him a note in which I explained why he should not do that. But the president, of course, knows more. It is easier for me now to evaluate the situation as a whole. Yeltsin was making his choice in a complex political situation. After his removal Yegor Yakovlev took a stand as an offended member of the intelligentsia. There is nothing worse than when a big grudge breaks up into a dozen small ones. I now realize that the president had his reasons for removing Yakovlev. Reasons which are only now beginning to become more or less clear to the general public.

[Dolgopolov] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, I will put to you two questions and ask you to take them without offense and to reply frankly, although I realize that they are not too pleasant for you. In the past few weeks people have been saying that you have turned into the president's mouthpiece. Rather, you have even become his second, trouble-free microphone. You convey to the people that which Yeltsin must say but which he does not quite wish to say. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Kostikov] To some extent, yes. First, my post requires this. Second, quite a high degree of trust has become established between Boris Nikolayevich and his press secretary during the eight months of my work. The president gives him quite a wide field for maneuver, including political maneuver. Because he is extremely busy, Boris Nikolayevich most frequently cannot follow the daily political situation. Let us assume an important state visit is in the offing or a very complex draft law is being prepared, and at such a moment it is possible to miss some important insult by conservative forces or to overlook an unexpected step by such a clever player as Khasbulatov. The press secretary's task is partly to prompt and initiate the necessary statement. The majority of the press secretary's serious statements have undoubtedly been approved by the president. There is also a purely psychological aspect here. The president and the press secretary are close in not only the political but also the psychological respect. Boris Nikolayevich is an exceptionally vigorous person who likes strong chess moves. This is to my liking. I feel that the president is impressed by the definite political "muscularity" of his press secretary. I cannot recall the president ever ticking me off after some statement.

[Dolgopolov] Here is my second question on a somewhat similar topic. Does it not seem to you that your polemic with Khasbulatov is nonetheless going beyond a generally accepted political dialogue? Some days it attracts attention, but I am sure that it leads to nothing positive. It remains a kind of ungentlemanly brawl [nemushketerskiy duel], in which the winner cannot be perceived.

[Kostikov] I agree that the press secretary's statements do not have great significance for Ruslan Imranovich himself. But, as far as I understand it, this duel is of certain sociopolitical benefit, because a surge of human emotions occurs. This draws attention, including the West's attention, to various aspects of the political struggle taking place between the president and the conservative parliament and Congress. Why has this role of a duelist fallen to the press secretary's lot? In principle, it is not characteristic of me. I am, rather, an amicable man and certainly not confrontational. The thing is that the initiative for the argument stems 99.9 percent from Khasbulatov's camp. It is from there that the attack is being made on the presidential structures. I am perfectly well aware that my status is incompatible with Ruslan Imranovich's. He is chairman of the Supreme Soviet and an elected figure, while I am clearly aware of my own place—a high-ranking state official under the president. Yeltsin, by virtue of his supreme political position, cannot and does not want to enter into polemics with the speaker. For they have behind them totally different degrees of legitimacy. The president was elected by the people, while the speaker's mandate consists in organizing the Supreme Soviet's activity. Ruslan Imranovich has exceeded these powers to a catastrophically great and dangerous degree. He has virtually usurped the mandate of hundreds of deputies by drawing the Supreme Soviet's power over to himself personally.

[Dolgopolov] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich, as someone far removed from bureaucracy, are you not fed up with all these edicts and decrees which multiply almost every day? The country is in crisis, and it is already clear that you cannot cure it just with presidential edicts. They remind me of the last months of Gorbachev's rule: dozens of decisions which no one takes seriously. Does not another, sadder analogy suggest itself?

[Kostikov] You are mistaken if you think that the president does not understand the abnormality of this situation. The perverted nature of rule by czarist edicts is obvious to him. The whole trouble is that this is an enforced form of action which sickens Yeltsin. But we do not have a normal parliament which tackles the elaboration of legislative acts. There is not a day that the government does not get jabbed in the pit of the stomach by the Supreme Soviet. Where is the tragic element? It is the brutal offensive upon the government and upon the president's prerogatives that necessitates the issuing of edicts. There is no other way out at present.

[Dolgopolov] Was this not why, in search of a compromise, Yeltsin so resolutely embarked upon rapprochement with "Civic Union"? What is this—fear of the communists' accession or of the emergence of a military dictatorship? Is a real compromise possible here?

[Kostikov] Here there is logic, strategy, and tactics. In a situation such as our, Russian, situation centrist groupings of the Civic Union type are necessary. The president is ready to engage in a dialogue with it. The sharing of government responsibility is also possible. Boris Nikolayevich has become convinced, maybe somewhat belatedly, that it is useful to cooperate with the interests of large and powerful sections. If only in order to avoid worse options and to cut off extremists of the left-wing and right-wing trends. Civic Union is an influential force, albeit one that proposes certain paths of development with which the president disagrees. They favor more clear-cut state regulation and the partial reinstatement of plan elements. But the general strategy is the market. Well, maybe under the conditions of today's harsh economic crisis, some state strictness will be required as a temporary element.

[Dolgopolov] The Eighth Congress is meeting, and it is not even an impasse situation—it is a simply catastrophic situation. What do you think: Could an attempt be made to impeach the president?

[Kostikov] There is a danger of this. I recently received a draft decree of the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium. They propose to submit to the Supreme Soviet before 30 March a law on making additions and changes to the Law on the State of Emergency. The Supreme Soviet is essentially preparing for the Soviet, not the president, to impose a state of emergency and confront the country with a fait accompli.

[Dolgopolov] And the president?

[Kostikov] Naturally, he is preparing as well. He has a moral and political strength which neither the Supreme Soviet nor the Congress possesses. Society has become quite clearly aware that it has long been living outside the political dimensions of the Congress. The country has changed, while the Congress represents the former nomenklatura of Soviet Russia. People realize this. This was why the people elected Yeltsin. I am frequently asked nowadays: Does the president have an armored train standing in a siding? The president's chief armored train is the people. An appeal to them in the president's name possesses tremendous force. Nobody has the right to deprive him of the possibility of putting an appeal to the people and asking people to express their opinion in a referendum.

[Dolgopolov] And yet the Congress could well put an end to the referendum.

[Kostikov] How? The Seventh Congress voted for the referendum. And that legislative act is irreversible.

[Dolgopolov] They would like to revise it now.

[Kostikov] That is unlawful. A number of serious jurists believe that it is anticonstitutional. If the Supreme Soviet and the Congress enter the field of anticonstitutional actions, the president, as guarantor of the Constitution, can take very decisive measures. It was for this that he was elected.

[Dolgopolov] Slava [diminutive form of Vyacheslav], I will address you in familiar terms. What do you think—will you remain in this post for long?

[Kostikov] At any rate, until the end of the president's present mandate.

[Dolgopolov] This means through 1996.

[Kostikov] Yes, provided, of course, the present press secretary suits the president. I believe that the president must fulfill his mandate. And I believe that this will be the case.

## Constitutional Commission Member Notes Political Options

*PM1103160193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 93 First Edition p 5*

[Article by Leonid Volkov, Russian people's deputy and member of the Constitutional Commission: "Whence the Threat of Dictatorship"]

[Text] **Is the Current Constitution Really in Force**

Stenographic records of Supreme Soviet proceedings, newspaper reports, and reports from Constitutional Court sittings contain an identical feature—everyone accuses everyone else of breaching the Constitution. Is it actually possible for anyone, for any organ of organization, to do anything WITHOUT BREACHING THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION CONSTITUTION?

Here are a few extracts from the stenographic record of one Supreme Soviet session. The Law on the Council of Ministers was being debated. Deputy Mityukov, chairman of the Committee for Legislation: "...Above all else, we have come up against NUMEROUS problems of INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION...."

Deputy Mazayev: "As a specialist on state law, I am still worried by this problem: WHAT KIND OF RULE DO WE HAVE.... What form of rule has been established in our country UNDER THE CONSTITUTION CURRENTLY IN FORCE?"

Deputy Isakov: "The president has repeatedly made critical statements against the current Constitution and has pointed out many of its defects WHICH ACTUALLY EXIST."

I have cited just a few rejoinders. It is possible to find hundreds of them, equally pithy. But even these few show the extent to which deputies of different political

leanings feel the instability of the constitutional foundation which gives them the basis to adopt laws, as well as the ease with which legislators—just like the other branches of power, incidentally—are prepared to either ignore or circumvent the Constitution.

But if the Constitution is contradictory, and if it is necessary to constantly circumvent it, what is the status of the legislative output of this constitutional organ?

Aware of this, members of the Supreme Soviet and its leadership are themselves not too respectful of the law. The Law on the Supreme Soviet's Standing Orders—the supreme norm intended to ensure democratic parliamentary procedures when laws are being debated—is constantly and grossly breached. Voting procedures are regularly manipulated. Deputies' speeches are constantly interrupted and replaced by crude comments by the chairman. Matters have reached the point where not only deputies vote on each other's behalf, but also apparatus officials vote on deputies' behalf.

To continue. The Presidium is beginning to supplant the Supreme Soviet, while the chairman is beginning to supplant the Presidium. All this is increasingly often accompanied by interference by the Supreme Soviet and especially by its "leadership" in the running and administration of resources, enterprises, foundations, and cadres, in which the parliamentary bureaucracy is naturally interested. This is not a separation of powers, it is a parallelism of diarchy, with all branches of power pulling in different directions. Ordinary citizens have to pay for all this, since this supreme confusion [bespredel] is one of the main causes of the disorder which provides such a fertile breeding ground for crime and sundry selfish elements. But if the Constitution currently "in force" is ineffective because it contradicts itself, if the entire legal system in the country is shaking as a result, the following question arises: Who has priority rights to exercise power?

**Russian Democracy and the 1978 Constitution**

The Constitution was created and ratified at the peak of Brezhnev's regime. It has absolutely nothing to do with the will of the people, it was never taken seriously by anyone, and it was not interpreted as A LAW DIRECTLY IN FORCE.

The USSR Constitution was amended under Gorbachev, once more from the top. The main intention was to vest unlimited powers in the congress and leave it incapable of functioning. The congress was to elect a smaller Supreme Soviet, and it was expected that the people's deputies would vote for the list of members compiled by the bosses. But Gorbachev's team underestimated the potential of even such a modest "democratization." The Supreme Soviet which was elected proved to be not absolutely obedient, and it was hastily rotated. By that time, however, Russia's people had already brought Russian democracy onto the stage. But the new wine of this democracy ended up being decanted into the old constitutional vats.

The Russian deputies soon felt that the construction of power handed over by the congress was unable to function. The congress decreed that the fundamental principles of the new state system should be submitted to an all-people's referendum. The post of Russian Federation president was instituted on the basis of the referendum. The Constitutional Court was created. Thus, the quest for new constitutional forms of the state system proceeded with direct participation by the people. This quest led to a balanced system of the separation of powers—the basis of the state system's stability in nontotalitarian countries. This principle was later formulated as one of the Constitution's "immutable foundations".

The president elected by all the people was given the opportunity to put together a government team, and to provide a legal basis for maintaining the present order. The Constitutional Court became guardian of the constitutional rights of both citizens and state organs against any anticonstitutional encroachments. It would seem that a corresponding legislative formulation of parliament's rights and powers would have been a logical continuation of these reforms. But the process has come to a halt at this point. Primarily because the consistent application of the principle of the separation of powers demands constitutional restrictions on the power exercised by parliament itself. But the deputies have not gone as far as such self-restraint.

First, the Supreme Soviet has simply failed to submit the Constitution's fundamental principles to an all-people's referendum. Second, the deputies have refused to repeal the provision whereby the congress can take on ANY QUESTION for consideration and decision. Third, the old formula is still firmly in place: The Supreme Soviet is a representative, legislative, and EXECUTIVE organ. If the Supreme Soviet is an executive organ, how does it differ from The Executive? Fourth, under the Constitution, the Supreme Soviet must adopt laws within the framework of a legislative program endorsed by the Congress of People's Deputies, as it happened at the early stages of its work. But now the Supreme Soviet's legislative program is set not by the congress but by its Presidium, a really tiny organ which has no links with the voters and to which the Constitution assigns the modest role of coordinating the chambers' work. Furthermore, the Supreme Soviet's chairman attempted to usurp this right by a recent directive. Fifth, sixth, seventh.... To sum up, irreconcilable constitutional contradictions have emerged, threatening to play a fateful role.

**Legitimacy of the Right To Exercise Power**

Legitimacy of power is a term of supreme moral and legal importance. It indicates the legitimacy of the actual source of power. In monarchies power was deemed to emanate from God and descended by birth. The source of power in the communist state was THE IDEA and THE PARTY embodying it. In the fascist state, as its theoreticians claimed, the source of power was the will of the nation embodied in its leader's personality. But a

contemporary democratic secular state can have only one such source—the will of the people expressed in clear legal formulations. LEGITIMATE power, which has been freely instituted and elected by the people. Analyzing the status of our branches of power, I cannot but arrive at the conclusion that, from this point of view, their mandates to exercise power are by no means identical.

The Congress of People's Deputies was elected by the people. But were these elections a free expression of the people's will? Was freedom not fettered by the old traditions, by the pressure of old totalitarian structures, and simply by the lack of adequate knowledge of the candidates? But the misfortune lies in the fact that the congress assembles only from time to time, the deputies have nothing to do with the solution of current legislative problems, and they are, willy-nilly, the targets of influence exerted by group interests prevailing in the Supreme Soviet. Thus the congress turns into a bullring, an arena for tumultuously seething passions which certainly do not always represent society's interests.

The president was elected in conditions of freedom of choice. The post of president was instituted as a result of the referendum, and the source of this power is obvious—purely and simply the will of the people.

Thus, there is a conflict of legitimacy and constitutionality. This is not history's first ever conflict between powers to exercise rights and the right to exercise powers. Such conflicts were resolved either by revolution or by constitutional compromise. France resolved them by revolution in 1789, and plunged into Robespierre's terror followed by the Napoleonic wars. This lasted right through to de Gaulle's Fifth Republic, when a popular referendum restored legitimacy to constitutional power. Russia repeated the French experience in 1917—and plunged into the bloody murk of terror which followed the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

**Three Possible Scenarios for March**

First scenario. The president, in defense of democratic principles not guaranteed by the Constitution but according with the expressed will of the people, and in view of the systematic breaches of the current Constitution and other laws by the Supreme Soviet and the congress, PROMULGATES A PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION, SUBMITS IT FOR THE PEOPLE'S APPROVAL, AND SCHEDULES NEW ELECTIONS.

This options does away with diarchy and soon effects stabilization of the system on the basis of legitimate powers exercised by the president who has been elected by the people. Dictatorship? Throughout his activity as head of state, Yeltsin has shown himself to be quite a soft leader, more inclined toward accord rather than toward bloody diktat. He is hardly likely to embark on dissolution of parliament which, however, will have to obey the provisional constitution. Our parliament lacks any massive support among the people, while the Army will evidently remain neutral. New elections under a new electoral law will mark the stabilization of democracy.

Second scenario. Either the congress or the Supreme Soviet, heeding calls by Robespierres from the National Salvation Front, proclaims that the president has been deposed and it has assumed all supreme power. Dictatorship? Does the threat of dictatorship really lie only in the institution of executive power? Let us recall the bloody democracy of the Convention during the French Revolution. It swiftly succumbed to Robespierre's dictatorial logic and the guillotine started roaming the country. And how about Lenin's and Trotskiy's democracy of the Soviets? Thus, does the second option also mean dictatorship, but a collective and harsh one?

A third scenario is also possible—the adoption of a CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, which would do away with any totalitarian claims by the congress. The adoption of such a law would mean accord not only between the "branches of power" but also within these "branches." As a result, instead of a contradictory Constitution, the country would receive clear-cut rules governing the collaboration between branches of power and coordinated work by the state administration. For example, I would not object to a transfer of legislative functions to the congress provided it does not assemble only in emergencies but works regularly, three times a year for three weeks at a time, on the ratification of laws. In such an event, the Supreme Soviet committees and chambers will be left with the function of elaborating the draft laws and coordinating them with the executive power.

**Outlook**

It is clear that the country will be unable to make its wealth serve the people without getting rid of the cancerous tumor of hyperindustrialization. This tumor is connected both with the powerful social stratum of managers-by-edict and with the mass of semi-impoverished workers who have no other way to earn a living. The former leadership hopelessly missed the opportunity to solve this problem by administrative methods. Russia's population is now looking for an autonomous solution of its own economic problems. Naturally, this has resulted in a sharp decline of the level of economic expectations. Many now feel a lack of confidence and even despair. But the turnabout that has taken place means that there is no historical future for the social groups which have for decades built their own prosperity on the squandering of resources for the war economy. Another question—will they be able to yield or change their positions? This is the question which determines the current political struggle around the government, Yeltsin's powers, and the role of the "Civic Union."

Therefore, the March scenarios depend on the extent to which the opposed political groups will show sufficient self-restraint to adopt the rules of the game which will make it possible to translate the problems of inevitable structural changes from the language of sabotage and

threats into the language of civilized political trade-off—to apply within the political system the principles of the political market, which would render senseless any confrontation between neo-Soviet "parliamentarianism" and neobolshevik "authoritarianism."

Thus, the historic argument is between intelligent and stupid politics, between farsighted and shortsighted politics, between honest and dishonest politics. It seems that Yeltsin is the first man in power in Russia's history who is trying to understand Russia in a Russian way and, in my view, has already shouldered the cross of the first alternative. I would not like to doubt the honesty of those who want to solve the problems by economic shock therapy or of those who strive to cure the ills by political shock therapy. Let us call them "market men" and "Communists." But I do think that at present they can be solved only around a working table by EXPERTS from the major political groups CAPABLE OF WORKING OUT AND AGREEING UPON A COMPREHENSIVE AND SPECIFIC PLAN for extricating the country from the crisis on the basis of taking into account DIFFERENT APPROACHES, INTERESTS, AND POSSIBILITIES. Such a plan could become the country's provisional economic constitution. It could then be implemented by a conscientious coalition government.

"The mind's unable to fathom Russia, it is not subject to the common measure"—this is what Tyutchev wrote last century. I do not know about the common measure, but is it not time—at the end of this century—for the mind to finally fathom Russia?

## More on Lukin, Solzhenitsyn Exchange of Letters

*PM1203084993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 93 p 1*

[Exchange of letters between Vladimir Lukin, Russian ambassador to the United States, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn under the "Correspondence" rubric: "The People Cannot Be Thrown Onto the Gambling Table of Self-Seeking Ballots"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Upon becoming our ambassador to the United States, prominent Russian Deputy V.P. Lukin established personal contacts with many Russians living in that country. From time to time the ambassador and A.I. Solzhenitsyn write each other. Naturally, the main theme of their letters is our Russian affairs, sorrows, and problems. This correspondence is private... On this occasion however, in view of the particularly acute and dramatic moment our country is experiencing, the authors have agreed to the publication in our newspaper of their letters to each other of 2 and 4 March.

The editorial office considers the letters' contents to be a significant contribution to the discussion of Russia's political present and future which has unfolded on the eve of the congress.

**Vladimir Lukin to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn**

Greatly Esteemed Aleksandr Isayevich!

As I depart for the congress, I would like to express my own troubled thoughts about our Russian affairs as clearly and concisely as possible.

Once again we are at a dangerous point. Once again we cannot agree among ourselves. South Africa's black and white inhabitants can do so, it seems. But we simply cannot. Is this yet another turn of the terrible Russian wheel?

I cannot understand our patriots. The more "patriotically" they shout, the more harmoniously they wave red banners together with "proletarian internationalists." I have always tried to understand them. I have been (and remain) very critical of my friends the "pure" democrats for their utopian, antistate impulse—an impulse toward masochism and self-destruction "in the name of general principles."

But can they really have forgotten what the "unbending" bolsheviks are like, those who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing? Do they not understand that their patriotic screeching is being cynically exploited and that later they will be swiftly and ruthlessly thrown overboard with a stone around their necks? Without any stupid rigmarole like a Constitutional Court.

In my opinion, the most important thing on the eve of the congress is to agree at last about power in the country. I have always believed that in Russia, there cannot be—at least not for the next decade—anonymous, abstract power. Freedom must become established in Russia not in the style of Westminster or Bern, but in a Russian form. There is a tradition in our country of a very high degree of personification in politics, so the form can only be presidential; naturally, with effective levers to prevent any relapse into equally traditional Russian arbitrariness. That is, with a parliament and an independent judicial branch crowned with a Constitutional Court. And with a clear division of powers. This, in my view, is what we should move toward and what we should agree on.

I do not believe in a solution via speedy elections. In abstract terms, this is a good and necessary thing. But in a schizoid atmosphere only schizoid people will win at the elections. We need builders and cultivators. I do not believe that a hasty new constitution will save us. Throughout history constitutions have been firm, strong, and lasting when they have crowned a completed social and political cycle and have not been merely another episode within that cycle. At present we are not mature enough for a serious constitution—its adoption would be another two-week noisy spectacle, not a great state action for the generation to come.

There is an acute need for agreement to show general respect for the considerable amount that has already been achieved—for the institutions of free power,

starting with presidential power. Precisely for the institutions. People have always argued and will continue to argue about personalities. In our country, the institution of the presidency is a people's institution, not a factional one. Agreement to show general respect for our own experience of the 20th century is equally badly needed. You cannot flirt with the ghosts of the past. Their power to suffocate is very real.

Accord begins with agreement. Will we reach it at this congress? I do not know. Everybody's eyes are burning very brightly. The vocabulary, which contains so much malicious irritation and so much pushy, irresponsible ignorance, is frighteningly familiar. There is a great desire for power, "the full panoply of power"—under any flag, even if there is nothing but ruins. Even if it is in a cemetery...

In general, these March days are troubled like the period before October. But we must not moan—we must get moving. I will go, and I will say what in my view has happened, and how. But meanwhile, it would be very important to know your perception of Russia nowadays.

With deep respect, as always,

Your V. Lukin

**Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to Vladimir Lukin**

Greatly Esteemed Vladimir Petrovich!

Events in Russia break my heart (even before my return, and later it will be only more painful).

Not everybody nowadays cares to remember that the present plight of the country stems from back in 1980 [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA for 11 March publishes on page 4 an "important clarification" which corrects this date to 1930]. Over the communist decades it had run into a complete economic dead end. Alas, even since 1985, when they ostensibly set out to recover, they did not treat things but wrecked them even more. And when at long last they embarked on the necessary reform, they conducted it recklessly and in 14 months the people have been completely plunged into poverty and despair. At such a moment it is especially dangerous to make bold political U-turns.

It is dangerous above all to lose the policy of the plenipotentiary power of a president elected by the whole people and standing outside and above parties. Yes, the Russian Federation, given its size and diversity, cannot exist without strong presidential power in no way weaker than in the United States. Experience of the parliamentary state was attained in the West over many centuries. Today in our country we are still not even close to this. Effective democracy cannot exist unless it is patiently built from below, from local self-governing bodies and from the provincial levels to the all-Russian level. This will take decades. But in order to extricate ourselves from our plight we need a stable form of state life. It is not specifically and not only a matter of President Yeltsin, it is not specifically and not only a matter of the current composition of the Supreme Soviet—it is a matter of an example for a long time to come, of an agreement whereby Russia would not be shaken by every puff of wind. The state decisions adopted now by these people will determine the fate of the country perhaps for a century to come, when today's politicians will all be dead—and the weight of a wrong decision will hang around the neck of Russia.

The deputies do not dare to throw the people's fate onto a gambling table of self-seeking ballots. Likewise, the president and the ministers should not and cannot disregard the lament that has been going up from the people for a year now that the reform is not being carried out in the right way. And when the people have been cast into the abyss of the concerns of penury—is it really the time to confront them with the incomprehensible questionnaires of a referendum about articles of the constitution? And now is most certainly not the time to be organizing elections to a one-shot constituent assembly and to hold sessions for months to elaborate an "ideal" constitution. (The whole of 1917 was spent elaborating an "ideal" electoral law—and they finished it just in time for the October coup). Yes, the Brezhnev constitution is no guide for the people's life; it was drawn up for a perverted state. But I agree with you, belief that a new text of the constitution would mean salvation is not something for our present plight.

If today's elected representatives have any sympathy for the people, they will seek not triumph over the hated "enemy," but a stable position for the helm of state rudder which will allow us to emerge from the storm. But what is going on in our country now? Hasty politicians are failing to wake up to the people's sorrow but are conducting fierce battles in the stratosphere and are unable to tear themselves away from their personal animosities. Meanwhile there is massive plunder on an unprecedented scale, Russian wealth is being sold off cheaply, and the country in chaos is being irretrievably robbed.

Furthermore, as you write, the crazy idea of a return of communism is now in the air—that same communism which killed 50 or 60 million of our compatriots through internal terror and without account, without reason, and without pity killed 80 million in the German war, losing 10 for every one. But the dead can no longer speak for themselves and the living are sometimes losing their reason—they see future "saviors of Russia" among the officials of that very same unrepentant party, some of whom have concealed their party cards and some of whom have not. But should communism ever return, God forbid, then it will merely extend our torments for years more, crush every living thing, and itself die in convulsions after a few years anyway. But in the short term, it will take us back: Once again there will be compulsion to go along with universal lies, and above all there will be the GULAG.

At the same time, another pernicious temptation is abroad in some people's minds: that of restoring the USSR—that is, of starting a bloody war in a dozen republics. But it is quite the contrary: We can see that today's CIS is an ephemeral formation that does not facilitate our salvation. Central Asia and the Transcaucasus have their own, separate ways far from us. Ukraine, with shortsighted hatred, is pushing us away. The only realistic encouraging formation that could last is a state alliance of Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan.

Vladimir Petrovich, you are now going to be in the thick of events at the Congress. I wish you success in advancing your sober, considered views.

All the best to you,
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

## Military Affairs

### Grachev Wary of Politically Fostered Army Split

*MK1103143093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 93 p 2*

[Untitled report from correspondents, agencies "In Brief" column]

[Text] Moscow—A meeting has been held between Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and people's deputies. He is worried, he said, about the prospect of the Army's splitting up into uncontrollable groupings under the impact of various political forces; moreover there is difficulty in drafting sufficient personnel (the number of draftees projected for this fall is 30 percent of the complement). The creation of a contract service system in the Army is not progressing well, and there is a shortage of material resources. Grachev expressed himself as opposed to the participation of the military in militia actions to combat crime, and also in settling the conflict in the North Caucasus.

### Navy Discharges Officers in Pacific Fleet Deaths

*OW1103211793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The commander-in-chief of the Russian Navy, Feliks Gromov, on Thursday [11 March] discharged from their posts and from the armed forces the head of the Pacific Fleet medical service, Colonel Kucheverenko, the commander of the Russky Island unit, Captain Second Class Geshelev, and his deputy Lieutenant Colonel Balashov. Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Khvatov has been reprimanded. Sources in the Navy's press service said it could not be ruled out that Khvatov would be dismissed.

Sources in the Central Medical Department of the Russian Defense Ministry told INTERFAX that of the 600 cadets taken to hospital from a Pacific Fleet unit stationed on Russky Island, only 19 still remained in hospital, the rest having recovered and returned to the unit. Four Russky cadets died of dystrophy caused by malnutrition and poor living conditions. The Central Medical Department formed a commission to investigate the incident.

On the whole the situation in the Pacific Fleet was normal, department sources said, and nothing of the kind happened in any other unit in the fleet. The tragedy, they said, had been caused by a combination of factors: young men with weak constitutions, some of them underweight, were affected by harsh climatic conditions on an open-sea island. Nor did their commanders pay due attention to them.

By now the situation in the unit has been normalized, the sources said.

According to the Military Prosecutor's Office, the officers whose negligence has resulted in human deaths will be prosecuted.

## Media Affairs

### Ostankino's Bragin Defends Decisions, Policies

*MK1103114893 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 11, 14 Mar 93 p C12 (Signed to Press 9 Mar 93)*

["Abridged" interview with Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of Ostankino Radio and Television Company, by Yelena Chekalova: "Vyacheslav Bragin: 'I Am of Sound Mind'"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Chekalova] At a recent news conference you formulated your civic position: a decisive reorientation of "Ostankino" toward the needs of a Russia that is renewing itself. One or two things on the air have already been reoriented. For example, the broadcasting schedule has been disrupted: In the past week three unscheduled political programs have been aired. Is this by chance or in fact a firm position?

[Bragin] I treat the broadcasting schedule seriously. It must be stable—ultimately it is respect for the television viewer. But what kind of television people would we be if we had worked out the schedule four or two weeks ago in a rush? Life has already changed, the people are already talking about other things, while here we have Shevelev (the deputy chairman, responsible for the broadcasting network) sitting with a shotgun and not letting anyone near the network.

[Chekalova] But throughout the world a schedule is created even a year in advance, and for up-to-the minute stuff there is the news...

[Bragin] Now just a minute, madam, I will explain everything. What kind of new material has been introduced into this schedule? I think that for such a politically aware journalist as you there is no need to spell out the acuteness, the rapidly changing nature, and the complexity of the political situation that is now occurring. Which is why we too must react. To whom did we give the floor? Such figures as Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov, Vladimir Filippovich Shumeyko, and Boris Grigoryevich Fedorov. We gave the floor to major statesmen. Such things used to and will take place.

[Chekalova] But in that case unscheduled programs should be much more interesting than scheduled ones. But in my view the interviews with Fedorov and Shumeyko were boring and opportunist.

[Bragin] I can accept your wording of "in my view." To my mind they were a complete success. And people liked these broadcasts.

[Chekalova] Which people?

[Bragin] Today I was at a big gathering (a reference to a consultative conference of representatives of democratically oriented parties and movements). Many senior representatives of the intelligentsia and mass media specialists were there. They thanked "Ostankino" for these broadcasts, which explained much that was unclear about the political situation. The people there considered them literally to be journalistic successes which were very accurately geared toward citizens' requirements.

[Chekalova] I heard that you intend to repeat the "Press Club" program with members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Why? The broadcast was reminiscent of some kind of kitchen squabble in which the formerly imprisoned gentlemen hardly looked like heroes.

[Bragin] Again that is your opinion. At the same roundtable this broadcast was rapturously received. People are simply demanding that it be repeated. We must serve the viewers. If they request something we will show it.

[Chekalova] Are you not afraid that the current glut of broadcasts in which Russian politicians participate and which are devoted to Russian problems will alienate viewers in nearby foreign countries? Russian Television has already come to grief because of this—former republics are refusing to receive its programs.

[Bragin] I am not afraid of that. We will concern ourselves with the problems of Yakutia, Tataria, Bashkiria, and other places where Russian citizens live. We want to organize our own airtime harmoniously.

[Chekalova] There are already rumors that the new chairman is going to drop Western serials, which are popular with most viewers, and force everyone to watch "Russkiy Mir" ["The Russian World"].

[Bragin] My position must be understood as follows: There must be harmony on this or that country's airwaves. But if the air is being overloaded with another country's films, the question naturally arises. But who exactly is going to object to a good foreign film?

I myself get great pleasure from watching Jacques Cousteau—it is simply a feast for the eyes and the senses! But Mr. Malashenko (the former first deputy chairman, who published a letter about the impossibility of working with Bragin) wants to make me out to be some kind of Nagulnov [allusion unknown] with an archaic mentality, wearing a leather jacket tightly fastened with a cartridge belt. Yes, I believe that the provinces and the ordinary man need to be on the screen. But this in no way means that I am forcing everyone to change from civilian clothes into a red shirt, put a sash on, and smear their boots with tar.

[Chekalova] Nonetheless even the remodeling of the chairman's office testifies to the incumbent's having certain aesthetic leanings. Even before I came here I had heard about this Khokhlomo [decoratively painted in traditional folk style] crockery set of yours, about new pictures...

[Bragin] Again you are lapsing into the sins into which Igor Yevgenyevich lapsed up to his ears. Of what relevance are cups here? I came to this television company of world importance, I received CNN's vice president here—and suddenly they bring in coffee in these nonmatching cups, pour it from a teapot (!), and the temperature is half that of the human body. The shame! The tastelessness! As soon as Mr. Loorie left I told them what they could do with these cups and saw to it that a normal crockery set was bought in two days.

Now, as regards the pictures. In this place (pointing to the wall behind him) a mournful and lifeless picture hung over the previous chairman. Imagine: It has just happened—it must be the Flood. A wet slippery bank. Trees torn up by the roots, without leaves, as if some kind of cruel element had mutilated them. And all this is in a gray-black-brown color scheme. I judged for myself that this was a self-portrait of "Ostankino" Television Company. I said: "Take it away immediately, I cannot sit under this picture."

[Chekalova] Did it affect you that much?

[Bragin] Me? Do not worry, I have a stable enough psyche. I said: "Bring me a cheerful picture which is a real painting rather than some kind of unprofessional daubing." I liked this picture of a flowering apple tree. The sun, spring, the shore of a Russian lake. And I thought: I now have a symbol of "Ostankino"—this flowering apple tree. Do you like it?

[Chekalova] Not very much.

[Bragin] But the author is a people's artist...

[Chekalova] Do you recall the July pickets outside "Ostankino?" Incidentally, the slogan "Russian Television for the Russians" appeared there. In your opinion was there an inherent truth in this?

[Bragin] I will now tell you about this inherent truth. Not Russian but chauvinist slogans appeared there: "Shake the Jews Out of Their Ostankino Nest." I myself was in that tent encampment and as soon as I opened my mouth they immediately sensed that I was an enemy. But you say a Russophile...

[Chekalova] Vyacheslav Ivanovich, comment on your first appointments.

[Bragin] I knew that I would not be coming to "Ostankino" as enough of my own man. I also knew that difficulties would be in store for me in this respect. Therefore I immediately wanted to rely on people who are professionals. So I appointed Valentin Valentinovich Lazutkin my first deputy. He is a professional from the heart of "Ostankino." I appointed Andrey Razbash leader of "Eksperiment" ["The Experiment"], and Aleksey Pimanov, author of the program "Za Kremlevskoy Stenoy" ["Behind the Kremlin Walls"], to the "Politika" ["Politics"] studio. They are young, well-groomed, and well-prepared. You won't throw them off balance with any kind of intense political surprise attacks. They are logically sound and mature people. But instead of working normally and getting to know the creative personnel I have had to defend myself against Mr. Malashenko's political statement. It was political disinformation that was coordinated with certain forces that have their long-range sights set on other political forces' coming to power.

[Chekalova] It seems to me that you are greatly exaggerating. In my opinion Igor Yevgenyevich expressed only his own personal opinion.

[Bragin] I cannot agree with you. After all, immediately after his statement the Supreme Soviet commission for investigating censorship at "Ostankino" was set up—the Supreme Soviet was simply waiting for this statement. I was even glad: Let them check and see that there is no censorship. They quickly realized this, changed tack, and put the question of monopolism as the heading.

[Chekalova] Malashenko was indeed concerned that deputies such as Petr Filippov had come to "Ostankino" and had started to dictate which broadcasts were to be made. They even proposed rubrics like "There Are Also Good Things." All this sounds rather ridiculous to a normal person.

[Bragin] Mr. Malashenko passed his own fears off as facts that had actually occurred. Everyone knows that problems in the economy and Army are poorly reflected in our programs. And then Messrs. Chubays, Filippov, and Vasilyev, and Deputy Defense Minister Smirnov offered to participate, wishing to contribute their qualified opinions. How could this have been declined? But I said to them: "Thank you for your initiative and for working out the themes. We will examine all of it but we have our own professionals—they have priority." But the themes had been correctly indicated. We have to cover them.

[Chekalova] That is logical. In former times, the approach was the main approach in television.

[Bragin] Why deal in absolutes again? Malashenko cried out that I want to revive "I Serve the Soviet Union." He said look at this total hick from Tver, this goat who was brought up on "I Serve the Soviet Union" and who cannot now survive without it at 1000 on Sunday. How naive! How unintelligent! I believe that "I Serve the Soviet Union" has outlived itself: It is an uninteresting, dogmatic, and rigid program. So just think, gentlemen in the "Politika" studio, how to make the broadcast interesting and contemporary so that it highlights the new Russian Army's problems. Nobody will succeed in tearing me away from my work into the political hurly-burly. And people are still saying that I want to ban the film "Raskol" ["The Split"]. But I have never seen it. I will watch it, then I will give my opinion. On the other hand I have facts showing that Malashenko himself used to ban broadcasts. For example, the program "Za Kremlevskoy Stenoy" and Aleksandr Yevlakhov's broadcast about the CPSU's money. He moved the talented "Novaya Studiya" ["New Studio"] to nighttime—and in doing so he feels himself to be the father of Russian democracy, like Kisa Vorobyaninov [allusion unknown]. But I put all this back on the air. I do not like everything in "Novaya Studiya," or the whole "Bomond" ["Beau Monde"] segment, or some other things. And I will play hell with Malkin (one of the leaders of "Novaya Studiya") concerning many programs. Recently I heard an uncensored word in their program on Channel Four. Then another. I picked up a pencil and wrote a note. Four swear words! Then I told Malkin face-to-face: "What's this, Anatoliy Grigoryevich, is it your creative skill and the independence of your conscience?"

[Chekalova] Incidentally, Malashenko moved the airtime of "Novaya Studiya" precisely because of this kind of thing, which the audience found shocking.

[Bragin] I do not know what Malashenko said to "Novaya Studiya." But they do have their talented side. So it is necessary to work with them. If they shame the people I will take them on in my managerial capacity.

[Chekalova] Vyacheslav Ivanovich, you came to "Ostankino" only very recently, but it seems you are having a hard time. Is this post not rewarding?

[Bragin] Yes, many people say to me: What a nightmare that job of yours is! How do you survive there? How?—we work. From the moment I was appointed I have essentially not been home once. My home is in Tver. And the baths are out of town. So forgive me, I cannot go and steam myself. On Sunday I actually left at half past midnight. As soon as I arrived it was just one political storm after another. First the president's edict on the

Russian Television Company. Nobody briefed me on it, nobody took account of the company's interests. But I have the utmost respect for you and this dictaphone and cannot utter the words that were in my heart. Then there were the problems associated with organizing an interstate television and radio company. The property claims, the claims on "Ostankino" airtime. Then that statement by Malashenko. He suddenly dared—without knowing me, without knowing my roots, and without knowing anything about my spiritual life or my ties to my native land—to accuse me of something. Someone can like or dislike Glazunov...

[Chekalova] Do you like him?

[Bragin] I have his albums. I also know Shilov's work. I like some of their work very much, some of it I simply cannot stand. But I also like Peter Breughel, and Lucas Kranakh, and I know of Malevich and Kandinskiy. I go to museums and art exhibitions. Generally, of course, I am drawn toward realistic art. But sometimes I like to flick through the French Impressionists. Can you really list everything you like...?

[Chekalova] Thank you for the interview. I hope that people have now gotten to know you better.

### Ostankino 'Positively' Receives New TV Deputy Chief

*MK1103141893 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 11, 14 Mar 93 (Signed to Press 9 Mar) p A4*

[Unattributed profile of Valentin Lazutkin, recently appointed first deputy president of Ostankino TV company, under "Appointments" rubric]

[Text] Despite the fact that nonprofessionals among Ostankino top executives are usually in the majority, Valentin Lazutkin was confirmed last week as the company's first deputy chairman.

Having worked for nearly 20 years on Akademika Koroleva Street, Lazutkin is no "creator" (TV director or journalist) but rather an administrator. His entire career in the former Gosteleradio [USSR State Committee for Radio and Television] was linked with the leadership of the GUVS—Main Administration for Foreign Relations.

Each new Ostankino chairman found Valentin Valentinovich to his liking. He was included on the collegium of the former Gosteleradio under Aksenov. Under Nenashev he became deputy chairman for foreign relations. Kravchenko appointed him his first deputy. Lazutkin could not work well only with Yegor Yakovlev, and he submitted his own resignation last fall. Valentin Valentinovich is nobody's fool. It was when he was in control that swans danced on the broadcasts aired from Ostankino in August 1991. But he was also the man who cleared for the air Sergey Medvedev's report on what was going on in Moscow that afterward became famous. Right after the democrats won, Lazutkin tendered his resignation, explaining that he did not want to await his fate. Nevertheless he stayed on after finding himself supported at a staff meeting. He quit nearly a year later. Following Yakovlev's resignation he immediately came back, and soon received the medal "Defender of Free Russia." After some slighting hints in the press—why give a medal to Kravchenko's deputy—he loudly relinquished his post right then and there.

Of late, two sensational press conferences have been held at Ostankino involving people who seem unable to stand each other—former deputy chairman Igor Malashenko, and today's Ostankino chief, Vyacheslav Bragin. Lazutkin spoke in both. Commenting on Malashenko's resignation at the first one, he said that if all the decent people were to leave, more malleable people would come in. In the second, he spoke rather about himself.

Lazutkin's appointment has been taken on the whole positively in Ostankino.

## Regional Affairs

### North Ossetian Parliament Recognizes South Ossetia

*LD1003211593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2032 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz March 10 TASS—"The North Ossetian parliament has adopted a resolution on the recognition of South Ossetia relying on an inalienable right of each nation to self-determination and proceeding from the fact that parliaments of North and South Ossetia have approved of the concept of socio-economic and cultural integration," said Yuriy Biragov, first deputy chairman of the North Ossetian parliament.

According to Biragov, a whole package of measures on closer cooperation between the two Ossetian republics is being prepared.

Biragov said that North Ossetia negatively reacted to a statement made by the Georgian parliament which declared invalid the act of the recognition of South Ossetia by North Ossetia. Tbilisi regarded it as "interference in Georgia's internal affairs and support of South-Ossetian separatists."

"North Ossetia, as part of the Russian Federation, is a sovereign state, since the republic, possessing the necessary power structures, its own constitution, flag, anthem, emblem and other attributes of a state, signed a declaration on state sovereignty and signed a federal treaty on a par with other republics. North Ossetia is entitled to sign treaties on economic and socio-cultural cooperation with other republics, if they do not run counter to the constitution of the Russian Federation and North Ossetia," Biragov said.

According to Biragov, "by recognising South Ossetia, the North Ossetian parliament does not encroach on the territory of sovereign Georgia and does not interfere in Georgia's internal affairs."

### North Ossetia To Give Refugees Jobs, Housing

*OW1103153693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There are more than 37,000 refugees in North Ossetia today. According to the Federal Migration Service, 7,492 of them are refugees from the Prigorodnyy region and more than 20,000 arrived in North Ossetia from neighboring Georgia following the escalation of the Ossetian-Georgian conflict in January 1989. About 8,000 refugees have arrived from South Ossetia and around 1,000 from Abkhazia, Tajikistan, and Chechnya.

The Migration Service also reports that the North Ossetian parliament has adopted a program for providing the refugees with jobs and housing.

A provision of this program envisages the construction of mono-ethnic Ingush settlements in the Prigorodnyy region in view of the fact that Ossetians and Ingushes cannot seem to live together peacefully.

The parliament's resolution on the problems of refugees says that this program will apply to Ingush refugees only if the Ingush authorities officially renounce all territorial claims on North Ossetia.

### Situation in North Ossetia, Ingushetia Updated

*OW1103194293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A crowd of Kombeleyevskoye villagers in North Ossetia surrounded a bus with 18 Ingushi refugees and an armored personnel carrier of the Russian interior troops.

Earlier a joint force of the Prosecutor General's office, Security Ministry, and Interior Ministry had apprehended the owners of four houses where weaponry had been discovered. Interfax was told in the Russian Interior Ministry public relations office that three automatic rifles, a light machine gun, a shotgun, 11 hand grenades, six home-made explosive devices, and over 4,500 round of ammunition were seized in the operation. The villagers now demand the release of the men. The public relations office reports that negotiations have started.

Meanwhile, our man in Ingushetia reports that five Ossetians tried to capture two Ingushi near their house, destroyed by fire, in Chermen settlement in Suburban district of North Ossetia bordering on Ingushetia. This attempt to take hostages was thwarted by Russian troops.

An Interfax correspondent reports from North Ossetia that remnants of unknown persons with gunshot wounds were found in the vicinity of Yuzhny settlement in Suburban district. Steps are being taken to determine the circumstances of their death and identify them.

### North Ossetia-Ingushetia Talks Still on Track

*MK1103084693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Mar 93 p 3*

[From "NEGA reports" column under headline: "North Ossetia"]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the fourth round of talks between delegations from North Ossetia and Ingushetia in Vladikavkaz, temporary administration head Aleksandr Kotenkov stressed that the talks had not been broken off, as some mass media had observed. The sides had worked productively enough on the first three questions on the agenda: the search for missing people, the return of hostages, and the disarming of illegal formations on the territory of both republics.

In Kotenkov's view, the talks "made it possible to avoid mutually exclusive approaches" to the solution of the refugee problem. He believes that the refugee problem should be tackled as a package, and for all categories at once.

The temporary administration head believes that the return of refugees should proceed in a differentiated manner and that this question should be resolved by the Russian operation and investigation group working in Vladikavkaz to investigate the conflict, acting as an "arbitrator."

On the question about the territorial problem that lies at the basis of the conflict, A. Kotenkov referred to the law setting a moratorium on redrawing borders before 1995, and replied that he "always stood back and will continue to stand back from redrawing the map." Kotenkov stressed once again that Prigorodnyy Rayon is a territory of North Ossetia, and its status can be altered only by the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia. True, he conceded that a special form of administration can be introduced on Prigorodnyy Rayon territory under the emergency situation law—a temporary administration of the Russian Federation—which would have only executive rather than legislative bodies under its jurisdiction.

Regarding the election of a president of the Ingush Republic, the temporary administration head said: "We should harbor no illusions that all state structures start working at once with the election of a president; it takes time."

### Ossetia-Ingushetia Administrator Interviewed

*PM1103143593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Mar 93 First Edition p 2*

[Interview with Russian People's Deputy General Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of interim administration of

Ossetian-Ingush region, by Dmitriy Mikhaylin under "Hot Spots" rubric; in Kislovodsk, date not given: "You Must Not Thoughtlessly Extinguish a Bonfire"]

[Text] The situation at the talks on the peaceful settlement of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict is commented on by Russian People's Deputy General Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of the region's interim administration.

[Mikhaylin] What is the present state of the talks between North Ossetia and Ingushetia?

[Kotenkov] The delegations seek any opportunities to accuse the opposite side of wrecking the talks. The talks have been going on in such an atmosphere for quite a long time now.

The fact that the authorities in the republics, particularly the Ingush Republic, have no experience of holding talks tells. It is precisely the Ingush delegation that more frequently than the others (four sides are participating in the talks, including mediators) gives the other side grounds for various demarches. A rash decision by the Ingush Republic's Central Electoral Commission was the reason why the Ossetian delegation refused to participate in the last round of the talks. That well-known incident, which was discussed in the press, was used again by the Ossetian side as grounds for declaring that that decision allegedly violated North Ossetia's sovereignty and that Ossetia did not consider it possible to continue the talks until the adoption (by the federal authorities, above all) of a whole package of measures. We had a very difficult discussion of this topic, and a tremendous effort was made by the mediators—delegations from Dagestan and Stavropol Kray— who succeeded in convincing North Ossetia's representatives of the expediency of continuing the talks. Therefore the talks were continued, albeit 24 hours late.

[Mikhaylin] What specifically has already been decided in these talks, and what is still to come?

[Kotenkov] I believe that the talks will drag on for several months. But they must undoubtedly continue until all—I emphasize, all—the disputed issues between North Ossetia and Ingushetia have been resolved.

One of the most important questions, whose discussion we have approached in earnest, is the return of refugees. The emergence of various crisis situations now is linked precisely with this. Each side takes a stand that is totally unacceptable to its opponent.

Of course, it is possible to attempt to resolve this problem using a strong-arm method—to free occupied housing and resettle the owners there. But a strong-arm method can only designate a solution to the problem, not resolve it. Two peoples that are at odds will not get on together. Friendly peoples can be returned to Prigorodnyy Rayon only by means of talks, by means of mutual accord.

[Mikhaylin] Can people live alongside those who killed their wife, son, or father? And if you also take into account the Caucasian customs and temperament?... Will these peoples be able to live together?

[Kotenkov] Not yet.... But, in general, when we speak of friendliness, this can be understood not only as fraternization but also as an absence of reciprocal armed actions. I am sure that these peoples will be able to coexist peacefully. Similar incidents, albeit not on such a scale, have happened before, but everything was gradually smoothed over and forgotten. The peoples are doomed to live alongside each other! We cannot evict some people, as was the case in 1944! There is no longer any discussion of the issue that they must live together. The whole problem is how these peoples will live—as friendly peoples, or will they constantly be at odds?

The question we are posing is that at the initial stage of the refugees' return it is necessary to ensure that they are settled in concentrated populations and to protect these zones with concenttrated populations. It is already necessary to start implementing this stage.

Second question. We must not permit the return of those who took a direct part in the disturbances: those who killed, burned, raped, robbed.... Criminals must not be returned. All refugees must be screened by the operational investigative group for involvement in those events or, at least, for criminal proceedings which have already been instituted. To date the operational investigative group has already questioned more than 9,000 witnesses. If someone features in eyewitness testimony even as a possible participant in disturbances, he will be sent home only after we are certain of his innocence. I am absolutely sure that the majority of the citizens who were resident in Prigorodnyy Rayon were not involved in those events.

[Mikhaylin] A different number of refugees in the region is now being named....

[Kotenkov] According to the precise data of the Federal Migration Service in Ingushetia, there are 49,048 refugees. Not one more, although there has been talk of 60,000-70,000. Such figures emerged because the registration of refugees continued for four months, and during that time families moved from place to place and were registered everywhere. In addition, under these conditions Ingush families, which as a rule are large, frequently lived apart, but they were registered everywhere as a whole family. Double counting has now been entirely ruled out.

There are 37,054 refugees in Ossetia. But only 7,392 are from Prigorodnyy Rayon proper and from the conflict region in general, while the rest are refugees from Georgia and South Ossetia.

[Mikhaylin] Ramazan Abdulatipov once said that, when all the factors in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict were fed into a computer, it turned out that 107 of them are working toward conflict and just one—the talks—is working to extinguish it. Has this ratio changed?

[Kotenkov] Above all, it is possible to name, inter alia, the development of Ingush statehood. Let us not forget that the conflict started, above all, because this people had been abandoned to the mercy of fate.

In general, there are more stabilizing factors than one, but the computer is right in that there are still, unfortunately, more inflammatory factors than stabilizing ones.

### Ingush Leader Urges Disbanding Political Organizations

*OW1003175093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ilyas Gantemirov, the leader of the republic's National Front, declared that the organization headed by him ceased its existence when Ruslan Aushev, the newly elected president of this republic, took office.

In his interview with Interfax he reported that he sees no need for the socio-political organizations existing in Ingushetia because "today the republic has already a legally elected power." According to Gantemirov, the National Front of Ingushetia created in November 1992 "has united the people for the elections of the republic's president."

The disbandment of all socio-political organizations, Gantemirov says, "will facilitate the stabilization of the situation in Ingushetia." The Front believes that the socio-political organization Popular Council of Ingushetia and the People's Deputies of the Russian Federation delegated from Ingushetia are responsible for the escalation of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict in the Prigorodnyy region of North Ossetia in October-November 1992.

### Dudayev Urges Chechens, Ingushes To Unite

*LD1103223793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Chechen President] Dzhokhar Dudayev has called on the Ingush and Chechen peoples to seek wisdom and courage and to unite. In an interview given to Ingush radio, Dudayev said he does not divide the single Vaynakh people into Chechens and Ingushes and pointed out that it is time to destroy the artificial barriers separating them.

### Chechen Parliament Wants Dudayev To Dismiss Cabinet

*LD1103191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1820 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 11 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—By a majority of votes today, the Chechen parliament judged the work of the republic's cabinet of ministers, headed by President Dzhokhar Dudayev, as unsatisfactory.

Yusup Soslambekov, chairman of the parliamentary committee for foreign affairs, who recently also become head of the republic's Council of National Accord, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that this decision means President Dzhokhar Dudayev should dismiss the entire cabinet or radically change its composition. In any case, the majority of the parliamentarians believe that he should give up the post of head of government.

According to Yusup Soslambekov, only this will enable Chechnya to get out of the political crisis and economic chaos.

The reaction of Dzhokhar Dudayev and members of the government to the parliament's negative assessment is not yet known. It cannot be ruled out that the president could attempt to ignore parliament's opinion. This will inevitably aggravate the already tense sociopolitical situation in Chechnya.

### Chechen Figure Collecting Signatures for Referendum

*OW1003151293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Chechnya Yusup Soslambekov [name as received], the chairman of the Council for National and Civic Accord, has announced his intention to call for a levy of the 100,000 signatures required in support of the nationwide referendum in the republic on March 27.

Soslambekov told a press conference in Groznyy that if the signatures are collected the referendum, which President Dzhokhar Dudayev had vetoed, would "have to take place." The two issues for the referendum would be, firstly, whether the time is right for early elections to the highest bodies of authority and, secondly, whether a president is in fact necessary in Chechnya.

The Council for National and Civic Accord, set up in February, includes the "Roundtable" bloc of democratic movements and the Bakio fraction containing 18 of the 41 deputies in parliament. The fraction is led by Soslambekov, who is also the chairman of parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission.

Roundtable is the non-parliamentary opposition to the republic's president.

### Deputy Defense Ministers Visit Volga Area, Far East

*PM1003151593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 93 p 1*

[Report by Oleg Bedula and Vladimir Shirokov: "Deputy Defense Ministers' Visits"]

[Text] During the past week Colonel General Valeriy Mironov headed a Russian Defense Ministry commission in the Volga Military District and a working trip to the Far East by Colonel General Vladimir Toporov included visits to the Pacific Fleet, Kamchatka, Ussuriysk, and Khabarovsk.

During the trips the deputy defense ministers inspected the combat readiness of units and subunits, the storage of weapons, and the state of military discipline.

### Vladivostok Mayor Resigns Due to 'Moral Fatigue'

*LD1103173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Timofey Orekhov]

[Text] Vladivostok March 11 TASS—Vladivostok Mayor Vladimir Yefremov who occupied his post for slightly over one year, resigned, citing "moral fatigue" as the reason.

Local analysts suspect a more serious reason for the resignation. Nevertheless, the mayor flatly spurned down such suspicions in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

Vladivostok citizens are now speculating whether head of the regional administration Vladimir Kuznetsov who is now at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies (supreme legislature) in Moscow approves Yefremov's resignation and who will take the vacant post.

Five mayors resigned in Vladivostok over the past decade, which was not helpful in tackling the problems of the rapidly growing city.

### Moscow, Kazakhstan Sign Cooperation Agreement

*LD1103214293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A city and a state—Moscow and Kazakhstan—today extended their agreement on economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation. This is not a chance or unique phenomenon, because the capital has signed similiar agreements with:

[Begin recording] [Yu. Luzhkov, Moscow mayor] Ukraine; we have signed with Belarus, Azerbaijan, the Baltic states. [end recording]

The agreement is serious, it helps Muscovites by supplying them with meat, vegetables, eggs, medicines—in a word, a whole spectrum of produce for the life and health of the capital.

Kazakhstan will receive trucks, refrigerators, televisions, optical instruments, watches, and perfumes. In the words of Kazakhstan's Premier Sergey Tereshchenko, Moscow is a capacious market for the Kazakhstan economy. But the brains of the capital are also important in this exchange—science and institutes of higher education. The premier recalled Kazakhstan's constructive attitude toward tomorrow's session of CIS heads of state and the 16 documents which have been prepared.

[Begin recording] [Tereshchenko] I think that the documents will be adopted tomorrow. The issue is that we adopt a lot of documents, but unfortunately they are not in operation. So we have to have a good talk about this tomorrow, because we are long overdue in moving from words to deeds. [end recording]

## International Affairs

### Kuchma To Talk With Chernomyrdin, Attend CIS Meeting

*OW1203024893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Ukrainian government delegation headed by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma will leave for Moscow Friday [12 March]. Kiev reports that negotiations are planned between Kuchma and Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on key issues in interstate relations.

Also on March 12, a session of the Council of Heads of Governments of CIS States will open. The Ukrainian delegation will participate in the session.

### Cabinet of Ministers Statement on Oil Development

*LD1103160193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1715 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Statement by the Press Service of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers]

[Excerpts] The Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers has passed a resolution on measures for the provision of oil deliveries to Ukraine and the participation of Ukrainian enterprises and organizations in the development of the West Siberian oil and gas complex. [passage omitted] Thus, the Economy Ministry, the State Committee for Material Resources, the State Committee for Oil and Gas, the Finance Ministry, and the State Committee for Geology and the Use of Mineral Resources are to include in March the volume of work carried out on the territory of the West Siberian oil and gas complex in the state order for enterprises and organizations with the provision of credits to customers on favorable terms. The volume of work reported includes the overhaul of operating wells and drilling of new ones and the reconstruction and building of new compressor stations, pipelines, roads, housing, and facilities in the social sphere.

The State Committee for Oil and Gas coordinates ministries and departments carrying out work in West Siberia, mechanisms for compensating work expenses, and the conclusion of treaties with oil and gas extracting associations and enterprises of Tyumen Oblast for work and counter deliveries of oil in 1993. [passage omitted]

The license-free, duty-free, and pre-payment free export of equipment, machinery, mechanisms, building structures, materials, and food products is guaranteed for the carrying out of work.

**Part II [as received]**

It is envisaged to allocate means and resources for the creation and strengthening of the material and technical base of drilling, construction, and other enterprises and organizations that are taking part in the development of the West Siberian oil and gas complex. The delivery of foodstuffs and consumer goods to associations and enterprises of Tyumen Oblast, and also of foodstuffs to Ukrainian enterprises and organizations located in that oblast, should be guaranteed. A list noting the value of Ukrainian enterprises' and organizations' property located in West Siberia will be determined together with the appropriate central bodies of the Russian Federation.

The resolution also plans measures for guaranteeing the clearing of accounts between subjects of economic activity of Ukraine and Tyumen Oblast for commodities delivered above the volumes envisaged by inter-governmental agreements. A joint Ukrainian-Russian power company with branches in Kiev and Tyumen should be formed to attract investment and the industrial potential of enterprises, commercial structures, other legal entities, and Ukrainian citizens. There will be stimulation to form joint stock companies with the participation of Ukrainian enterprises and organizations and those of Tyumen Oblast with the purpose of attracting extra oil and gas resources to Ukraine. A long-term program (until the year 2005) of cooperation between Ukraine and Russia in the joint opening up of oil and gas fields in West Siberia is being worked out with the definition of specific work and necessary investments.

In accordance with the resolutions, proposals will be prepared to regulate issues connected with the differences in existing conditions of the social and legal protection, stimulation of labor, and taxation of incomes of Ukrainian citizens working on tours of duty in Western Siberia and Russian workers.

Persons who work and live in rayons of West Siberia of the oil and gas complex, and who have the right to Ukrainian citizenship on return to Ukraine, are guaranteed retention of dwellings, the possibility of building in house-building cooperatives, the acquisition of apartments (houses), or the exchange of an occupied dwelling in states-republics of the former USSR.

[Signed] Press service of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine

## National Affairs

### Kravchuk Orders Officials To Supply Fuel for Agriculture

*LD1103172993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk today sent a message to the head of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Crimea and to representatives of the president of Ukraine in oblasts and in the cities of Kiev and Sevastopol.

The message reads: The resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of 11 December 1992, No. 699, on

immediate measures for the provision of the agro-industrial complex with oil products is being implemented unsatisfactorily. The fulfillment of spring field work is under threat of disruption in many regions of Ukraine. I order you to take under your special control the supply and use of fuel and lubricants, and the channeling of 80 percent of automobile gasoline and diesel fuel to users in agriculture, and to coordinate the work of all law-enforcement bodies and bodies of local executive power in the fight against the theft and bad management of fuel and lubricants.

You are personally responsible for the fulfillment of the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and for the provision of fuel and lubricants for spring field work to the agro-industrial complex, notes the message of the president of Ukraine.

### Kravchuk Criticizes Budget; Cabinet Sends Back Draft

*OW1103213893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1138 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [10 March] at the session of the Cabinet of Ministers, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk criticized the key provisions of the republic's draft budget for 1993. He declared that "there are no answers to the major problems disturbing the society" in this document. In particular, the document does not stipulate "when and how inflation and industrial recession are to be stopped." According to the President, the draft budget does not reflect the government's attitude towards different forms of ownership.

The same day the Cabinet of Ministers adopted a decision to send the draft budget for a revision.

The draft budget determined the profitable share totalling 8614 billion karbovantsi and the expenditures, accounting for 9619.4 billion karbovantsi. The planned deficit constitutes 100.4 billion karbovantsi (7.3% of GNP).

A total of 293 billion karbovantsi will be allocated to finance the restructing of industry and 628.5 billion karbovantsi - to implement social programs.

The government intends to allocate 486 billion karbovantsi (4.8% of the total sum of expenditures) for defense.

### Major Political Organization To Hold Congress 13 Mar

*OW1203034493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The association New Kiev [as received], one of the most influential political organizations in Ukraine, will conduct its second congress March 13 in Kiev. Head of New Ukraine's secretariat Aleksandr Bulatov told INTERFAX that the congress will have to determine the association's stance on the course of Leonid Kuchma's government.

Bulatov said that even now one could definitely say that New Ukraine will agree to collaborate with Kuchma's cabinet only if a council of entrepreneurs, including representatives of New Ukraine, is formed under the government. The council, he believes, should be allowed to participate in the development of government decrees.

250 delegations from 23 districts and the Republic of Crimea will participate in the congress.

New Ukraine includes over 20 Ukrainian political parties and several major unions of entrepreneurs. 44 deputies form the New Ukraine faction in the Supreme Soviet.

### Morozov, Zlenko Visit Strategic Forces in Pervomaysk

*AU1203125193 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 11 Mar 93 p 2*

[Report by the Press Service of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense: "Missile Forces Receive Two Visiting Ministers at the Same Time"]

[Text] On 4 March, Minister of Defense Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov and Minister of Foreign Affairs Anatoliy Zlenko visited a military unit of the strategic missile force stationed in Pervomaysk.

Right at the command post of the missile regiment, the visitors were briefed about the life and conditions of service and accommodation of the personnel that were on combat duty. A conversation with the command of the regiment and with specialists took place at the command post. Ways of resolving questions connected with maintaining combat readiness and nuclear and ecological safety were discussed.

The ministers also learned about conditions under which nuclear munitions are stored. In the storage facilities, directly in their work places, an exchange of ideas took place with the specialists who work with the munitions, and the technology was inspected.

During the meeting with officers of the strategic missile forces, Colonel General Morozov expressed his views on the problems of the presence of nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. The minister of defense answered numerous questions that concerned both the technical aspect of the service and social provision of missile forces officers.

## Committees Ask Miners To Be Ready To Strike

*OW1203035193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1909 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The independent mineworkers union in the Donetsk coal-mining region says 162 out of 253 mines took part in a token strike on February 26. The Federation of Ukrainian Trade Unions had later called on mineworkers to refrain from any action until it and the government ended talks on a new tariff agreement.

In the meantime, the union of regional strike committees meeting in Gorlovka on Thursday [11 March] approved a resolution on the outcome of the warning strike calling on miners to be on a standby. The meeting had agreed to call a first national conference of Ukrainian miners.

## Belarus

### Defense Ministry Statement on Servicemen's Association

*WS1103141593 Minsk Belaruskaje Television Network in Belarusian 1900 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] The Belarusian Defense Ministry press center has issued an official statement to the Republic's media. The issuance of the statement was caused by the publication of an appeal of the Coordination Council of the Belarusian Association of Servicemen [BAS] to the Belarusian Defense Ministry.

The press center statement reads: The Belarusian Armed forces took a military oath to the Belarusian people and the Belarusian state. According to the Law on Defense, it is up to the highest state organs to assess the level of the Armed Forces' reliability. The BAS, which is a political organization and has no appropriate plenary powers, cannot fulfill the ministry's charge. The BAS's activities are instigating, provocative, unlawful, and aimed at undermining the defense capacity of the Republic of Belarus. In addition, these activities are politically harmful to state building in Belarus. The statement can be read in its entirety in the press.

### Agreement on Chernobyl Issues Signed With U.S.

*WS1103145793 Minsk Belaruskaje Television Network in Belarusian 0600 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] In his talk with well-known American research doctors, Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka called the present ecological situation in Belarus a radiation trap. The American guests arrived in Minsk to sign an agreement on scientific cooperation between the University of Pittsburgh and the Belarusian Science Research Institute of Radiation Medicine. This agreement foresees an exchange of specialists and internships of doctors on joint scientific programs in the United States and Belarus. Petr Kravchanka thanked the doctors for the assistance they have been rendering to the Belarusian victims of Chernobyl disaster during the last several years. He pointed out that currently the pressing issue is to save the gene pool of the Belarusian people.

### National, Commercial Banks Create Currency Stock Exchange

*WS1103135593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] The National Bank of Belarus has recently made a decision envisioning the creation of an interbank stock exchange responsible for the purchases and sales of foreign currency. At a meeting with National Bank representatives, 16 commercial banks of the Republic expressed the wish to participate in the activity of the new stock exchange, and became its founders.

### Government Adopts Social Protection Measures

*WS1103134693 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] The first decree signed by Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich after his illness deals with additional measures on the social protection of the population. It has been decided to increase tariff coefficients from the first to the seventh skill categories by 10 percent for the personnel of budget supported enterprises and organizations. Wages of specialists employed in the spheres of health care, social security, science, culture, arts, physical culture, sports, and education will go up by 1.05 percent. Every nonworking pensioner will receive a one-time payment of 500 rubles. Associations of enterprises have been permitted to take their own measures for the social protection of their personnel according to the current legislation. The State Committee for Labor and the Ministry of Finance and the State Economic Planning Organization have been charged with addressing the government with a motion on increasing the minimum wage beginning 1 March.

## Moldova

### Parliamentary Debates on Constitution End Without Result

*OW1103182393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The attempt by Moldova's parliament to debate the draft constitution clause-by-clause at its first reading ended without result Thursday [11 March]. The stumbling block was the very first article of the document which proclaimed that Moldova was a "national, independent and sovereign, unified and indivisible state."

Russian speaking deputies from the Soglasie fraction and landowner-deputies opposed the word "national," while representatives from the Christian Democratic Popular Front insisted on its retention. Neither side received the required majority at voting.

At this point a recess was called for consultations among the parliamentary fractions. Observers were of the view that the only acceptable compromise would be that offered by parliament Speaker Petr Luchinskiy. The latter said that all versions of controversial articles in the draft Constitution should be referred for nationwide debate and only after this should the final version be adopted at its second reading.

The debate is expected to resume Friday.

### Security Minister Kalmoy Says Coup Possible

*AU1203090593 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Yesterday in Moldova's parliament, answering a question during the hearing of ministers, National Security Minister Vasile Kalmoy stated that considering the situation in the Republic of Moldova, a coup cannot be excluded. However, added Kalmoy, the matter is under investigation in cooperation with Romanian special services and results will be announced later.

Concluding his speech, the Moldovan national security minister stated: We have evidence that the situation in the republic is very tense. Kalmoy elaborated neither on the identity of those planning the coup nor on the way it would be carried out.

### Groups, Deputies Threatening Revolt

*AU1203123093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1104 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Chisinau ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—Vasile Kalmoy, Minister of National Security of the Republic of Moldova, was asked by [parliamentary] Deputy Mihai Ghimpu if a coup was possible in the republic. "We cannot deny it is possible," said he and added that the population possessed weapons, that various political groups were inciting to revolt and causing more and more chaos, that even deputies were threatening in the press that they would attack the leaders of the republic, and that many Asians had entered Moldova, who were posing a real threat. [passage omitted]

### Government Delegation Leaves for Moscow CIS Summit

*OW1203025093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Moldovan government delegation led by Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli left on Thursday [11 March] for a CIS summit to be held in Moscow March 12.

Before the departure Sangheli told journalists that "Moldova is open for economic cooperation with all CIS states and will adhere to that position at the upcoming meeting in Moscow." The prime minister also noted that Moldova hopes to resolve at the Moscow summit a number of economic issues related to the spring field works.

### Parliament Approves Selling of State-Owned Housing

*AU1103123693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0526 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 11/3/1993—The Parliament of Moldova adopted today the law "With Regard to the Privatization of the Dwelling Space" and a decision regarding its application, starting on April 10, 1993. According to the law, the privatization of the state dwelling space can be achieved benevolently by payments. The family, the husband and the wife which have a total working experience of between 30 to 35 years in the republic will have to pay 25 percent of the total cost of an apartment; a family with working experience of between 25 to 30 years will have to pay 50 percent of the total cost of an apartment and those who have less than 25 years will have to pay the whole cost of the apartment which the government will establish through its directives. The right to privatize an apartment is free of charge for invalids encompassed by categories I and II. The privatization of government flats aroused acute discussions. These flats will have a special status and will not be exposed to privatization. Parliament obliges the government, through the decision of the application of the law, to proceed with the elaboration of the program which will urge the construction of buildings for 260,000 people in Moldova presently waiting their turn to obtain an apartment.

### Federal State Proposed by Dniester, Gagauzia Rejected

*OW1103152593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1419 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The joint statement on the federalization of Moldova, made by the parliaments of the self-proclaimed Gagauz and Dniester republics, hampers the restoration of peace and accord in Moldova, Vice-Chairman of the Moldovan parliament Viktor Puscasu told Interfax.

He also said that the Moldovan leaders reject the position of the leaders of the separatist republics. In his opinion, the idea of federalization, advocated by Tiraspol and Komrat, aggravates confrontation and escalates tensions in the region, and plays into the hands of Russia's ambitious imperial quarters.

Moldova has worked out other variants of settling disputable issues with due account taken of the specific features of Dniester and the predominantly Gagauz regions. These variants may lead to a peaceful settlement of all problems, he said.

### Russian Forces Not Impartial in Dniester Conflict

*AU1103123393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 0526 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 11/3/1993—"Chisinau had to address the United Nations long ago with a request to bring the 'blue helmets' into the zone of the Dniester conflict," stated Taras Kuziu, representative of the London Institute of Strategic Studies when he was questioned by a BASA reporter. "It's ridiculous to believe that Russian forces of peace keeping or the so-called Armed Forces of the CIS could contain the Dniester conflict," underlined Taras Kuziu during his

visit to Chisinau. The expert referred to the example of Croatia where a battalion of Russian peace keeping forces exclusively offered help to the Serbian military formations. Taras Kuziu invoked the partiality of Russia in its attitude towards their problem in the Dniester region and insufficient control by the military department of Russia on the 14th Army, located in the self proclaimed Dniester Republic.

## Kyrgyzstan

### First Vice Premier Leads Delegation to CIS Summit

*OW1203120293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1055 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In view of Kyrgyz Prime Minister Tursunbek Chingyshev's illness, the Kyrgyz delegation to the CIS summit will be led by First Vice-Premier German Kuznetsov. On Thursday [11 March], the governmental delegation, led by Kuznetsov, left for Moscow.

### Communist Party Soon To Be Biggest Movement

*LD1103184393 Bishkek KYRGYZINFORM in Russian 1405 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By KYRGYZKABAR correspondent albert Bogdanov]

[Excerpt] Bishkek, 11 Mar—"The Party of Communists of Kyrgyzstan will soon be the biggest mass movement. In the three months since it was registered its ranks have grown to almost 10,000," said Absamat Masaliyev, former first secretary of the Kirghizia Communist Party Central Committee, and now chairman of the Kyrgyzstan Party of Communists Executive Committee, who was recently invited by President Askar Akayev to take up state service. [passage omitted]

### Akayev Issues Decree on Military, Alternative Service

*LD1103183893 Bishkek KYRGYZINFORM in Russian 1405 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By KYRGYZINFORM correspondent Albert Bogdanov]

[Text] Bishkek, 11 Mar—Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev has issued a decree permitting young men of Kyrgyzstan to choose between military or alternative service. It has also been made possible for young people to perform their service either in Kyrgyzstan's units or outside its borders in border guard subunits or armed forces of the CIS.

## Tajikistan

### Foreign Ministry Protests Afghan Border Violations

*PM1103170093 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 93 p 3*

[Report by Viktor Kozlov of the KHOVAR agency for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Fighting Continues on the Border. First Groups of Servicemen From CIS Countries Arrive in Tajikistan"]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan has sent a note to the government of neighboring Afghanistan. It talks about the continuing provocations along virtually the entire length of the border. Afghan gunmen belonging to 'Abdol Ahad's group are rustling livestock, taking civilians hostage, and engaging in firefights with Russian border guards. The Tajikistan Foreign Ministry stated on behalf of the government that in the event of a repetition of such acts the republic will take the severest measures to ensure the inviolability of Tajikistan's borders and territory.

Troop subunits which (in accordance with the decisions of the meeting of CIS heads of state in Minsk) are being sent in to strengthen the Tajik-Afghan border will also be used to clamp down on the provocations. The first troop subunits of these forces from Russia (about 170 men) arrived in Dushanbe yesterday. As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, there are subunits from Kyrgyzstan in Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast. They are covering the Tajik-Afghan border in the Khorogskiy border detachment's sector. Reinforced battalions from Russia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan will be deployed in the Pyandzh region and in the Moskovskiy border detachment's sector.

### CIS Forces Guard Border

*LD1203151193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In keeping with the accord reached, the CIS countries' forces have started to guard the Tajik-Afghan border. The Commonwealth troops are helped by the Armed Forces of Tajikistan itself.

### 300 More Russian Soldiers Arrive

*OW1203152093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Another 300 Russian servicemen arrived in Tajikistan on Friday [12 March] to reinforce the border with neighboring Afghanistan, INTERFAX has been informed by Tajik Parliament head Imamali Rakhmanov. He said that the past 24 hours saw no reported violations of the border.

The head of state noted that there had been no murders in Dushanbe for the past four days, which, he said, was evidence of the effectiveness of the additional measures taken for stabilizing the situation in the capital.

Rakhmanov pointed out that on Thursday there had been a meeting of the leadership of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast with a government delegation; the meeting included representatives from armed opposition groups. The meeting saw the putting

forth of various provisions for the stabilization of the situation in Pamir. Rakhmanov said that more than 150 firearms were handed over.

### Rumors of Increased Tension in Dushanbe Denied

*OW1103195493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1911 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajik Vice-Premier Mukhammad Said Ubaydullayev who is in charge of law-enforcement bodies has categorically denied allegations about the strengthening of tension in Dushanbe. In an exclusive interview with Interfax he stated that the reinforced patrolling in Dushanbe and tighter control over entrance and exit from the capital (currently, 47 patrol check-points are operating in the city, 32 of them round-the-clock) are caused by unsatisfactory implementation of the resolution on emergency situation, curfew and giving-in illegally kept arms. Ubaydullayev said that since the beginning of the registration December 16, 4,000 pieces of arms have been given in, including more than 1000 automatic rifles and 22 armored vehicles. In the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region the figures are more modest: all in all 300 units were given in: 103 automatic rifles and 2 armored personnel carriers.

The vice-premier said that in the past 3 days not a single case of murder had been registered in the city of [illegible]0 residents in the emergency situation conditions. Meanwhile, in the previous two months and a half, according to reports of the Interior Ministry, the number of deliberate murders grew 9 times.

Asked about the situation in the regions where government troops were conducting military operations, Ubaydullayev said that the Romitskoye gorge and Garmsky region are fully controlled by government forces. These regions are receiving humanitarian aid. At the same time he acknowledged the presence of small armed groupings in the Garmsky valley which continue to resist government troops. However, he said, they don't pose a serious threat, because the civilian population "joint the fighting against them." The vice-premier said that two days ago near Komsomolabad local residents killed the brother of Rizvon, head of armed opposition in the Komsomolabad region.

Answering the question about relations between the government and armed groupings of the Tajik Popular Front, Ubaydullayev replied that the government is confident in its capability to control these groupings. The vice-premier praised the position of Chairman of the Tajik Popular Front Sangak Safarov on this issue.

### 300,000 Refugees Return to Permanent Homes

*LD1203111893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0600 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[By TASS correspondent for TIA "KHOVAR"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 12 Mar—In Tajikistan, 300,000 refugees have returned to their native parts which is evidence of the gradual normalization of the sociopolitical situation in the country. This was stated to a correspondent of the "KHOVAR" news agency by Shukur Zuhurov, the country's minister of labor and employment.

The government of the Republic and the local bodies of power are taking effective measures to ensure the safety of people who have been forced to spend a long time in Dushanbe, Leninabad Oblast, owing to the armed conflict, the minister stressed. Refugees are being rendered material assistance on the spot in the places of permanent residence; the able-bodied population are being provided with work. At present everything is being done to speed up the process of returning the settlers to the places where they were permanently resident. This is necessary to conduct the spring sowing successfully as well, the time for which is usually the second half of March in this southern country.

## Armenia

### Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Remains 'Unstable'

*NC1103193493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has remained unstable. Positional fighting took place on all battlefronts during the past few days. Reports say the two sides have been unable to intensify their combat operations due to adverse weather conditions.

There was no significant change in Mardakertskiy Rayon on 10 March. The Armenian self-defense forces have been fortifying their positions in Nerkin-Oratag, Dzhanyatag, Magavuz, and [placename indistinct], which were liberated from the Azerbaijan National Army [ANA] units the previous day. They are preparing to intensify their onslaught.

We reported earlier that the ANA [Azerbaijani National Army] units suffered many casualties and lost a large quantity of military vehicles and equipment on that battlefront. Armenian military units are only a few kilometers away from the rayon center. The ANA units set fire to the rayon center and removed the families they forcibly resettled in that town. [passage omitted]

The situation in the Mardakertskiy battlefront is relatively peaceful now. However, tension has increased in the rear areas of the enemy lines. The Armenian partisans have launched an unexpected attack and achieved considerable success in the northern part of Mardakertskiy Rayon. (Dafakert), [name indistinct], and (Getigomer) were liberated. The ANA units suffered many casualties and lost a large quantity of military equipment. The Armenian fighters emerged from the clashes without casualties.

The NKR [Nagorno Karabakh Republic] self-defense forces are in control of the liberated towns and are maintaining their military initiative. (Yudumlu) in Gadrutskiy Rayon and Martuninskiy and Askeranskiy Rayons were fired on on 10 March from the ANA positions and the Armenian self-defense forces were forced to return the fire.

No significant incidents occurred in the vicinity of the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon during the past two days. However, intermittent firing took place between the two sides. No Armenians were hurt. The traffic on the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert road is moving without obstruction. The corridor is being used to supply non-military commodities to the people of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh], who have been attacked by Azerbaijan and who are waging a struggle for freedom.

The tension in the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has heightened once again. Tavushskiy and Krasnoselskiy Rayons were fired on from Azerbaijan's Tauzskiy and Kedabekskiy Rayons the previous night. No Armenians were hurt. The residential areas in Megrinskiy and Kapanskiy Rayons were fired on from Zangelanskiy Rayon on the same night. No one was hurt. The Armenian forces returned the fire to silence the enemy gun emplacements.

Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry said Azerbaijan's northeastern and southeastern rayons were fired on from Armenia. This is a distortion of the truth by the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry's Press Center. For one reason or another, the enemy forgot to mention that Azerbaijan fired first.

Armenia is prepared to make efforts to establish security in the border. Unfortunately, Azerbaijan's unending provocations are an obstacle. Not a single day passes without our republic's border rayons—particularly Gorisskiy, Tavushskiy, Krasnoselskiy, and Noyemberyanskiy Rayons—being fired on from Azerbaijan. We do not believe that a party that truly supports the imposition of a cease-fire would fire first. Unfortunately, Azerbaijan's words and deeds are very different. Nevertheless, we hope that reason will prevail and the neighboring republic will end its provocations.

## Azerbaijan

### Envoy to Moscow Protests False News About Lezghins

*OW1103144993 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Khikmet Hadzhi-Zade, Azerbaijani plenipotentiary representative to Russia, on 8 March handed a note of protest from the government of the Republic to the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As the Azerbaijan presidential press service told the KHABARSERVICE agency, the protest concerned the false news being disseminated by the Russian mass media, and the "Vesti" program in particular, about the dispersal of a Lezghin meeting in the Gusar region of Azerbaijan, which supposedly resulted in deaths.

On 8 March, Khikmet Hadzhi-Zade received representatives of the Lezghin community in Moscow, who said that the news broadcast by the "Vesti" program coincided with information they had received from the Armenian community in the Russian capital. It specifically stated that Lezghin youths called up for military service in Azerbaijan were being sent to combat zones without training. Khikmet Hadzhi-Zade said such action by the Russian mass media was an attempt to create a new hotbed of interethnic conflict.

### Dagestan Border Situation To Be Discussed 13 Mar

*NC1103135793 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0822 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Baku, 11.03.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The situation in border zone between Azerbaijan and Dagestan is intended to be discussed at the session of the Bureau of the Consultative Council of the Caucasian House international forum which is to open March 13. The session is devoted to public and political situation in the Caucasus and searches for the peaceful ways of conflicts' solutions, ASSA-IRADA was told by Chairman of the Consultative Council Rajik Aliyev who will head Azeri delegation.

### Foreign Ministry Makes Statement on CSCE Talks

*NC1103211893 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1816 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry issued a statement today, distributed through AZERTAC, saying:

The five-year Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has been inflicting incalculable damage to the two states. In an attempt to end the meaningless bloodshed, Azerbaijan pins special hope on the CSCE's efforts to bring about peace. During this process the Azerbaijani Republic has always maintained an open approach and has declared its readiness for reasonable compromises.

The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry again draws attention to the fact that the Armenian Republic has repeatedly launched military operations on the eve of and during the peace talks and has occupied new lands from Azerbaijan.

Despite the significant difficulties in maintaining the peace talks, Azerbaijan has shown determination to bring about the success of CSCE's peace-making efforts. The draft on the mandate of the CSCE observers group, which was agreed on during the Rome meeting of the Minsk Group, is the concrete result of this determination.

Azerbaijan has highly assessed the mediation efforts of the United States, Russia and France for the peaceful resolution of the conflict, and has called on Armenia to implement the agreements reached within the CSCE framework.

### Nagorno-Karabakh Official Comments

*OW1203025893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] First Deputy Prime Minister Boris Arushanyan of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, which is not recognized by Baku, said at a briefing in Stepanakert on Thursday [11 March] that "certain progress has been made at the talks in Rome for attaining a peaceful settlement in the region." Mr. Arushanyan has just returned from Italy where he was taking part in the talks as member of Nagorno-Karabakh's delegation.

Mr. Arushanyan noted that in contrast to the previous rounds of talks, all the parties involved were showing "better judgment and willingness to achieve a compromise." He said, however, that actual ceasefire in Karabakh may only be achieved in May after the parties have coordinated all the provisions of the mechanism of control over peaceful settlement.

### Elchibey Interviewed on Cease-Fire Call, Conflict

*NC1103155293 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 9 Mar 93 p 12*

["Exclusive" interview with Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey by HURRIYET correspondents Irfan Sapmaz and Selin Caglayan in Baku; date not given]

[Text] [HURRIYET] Can you comment on the proposal that talks be held after a cease-fire is imposed?

[Elchibey] First, talks should be held to impose a cease-fire. The cease-fire mechanism must be prepared as a whole.

[HURRIYET] Have you informed Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin that the imposition of a cease-fire would be meaningless without the required mechanism?

[Elchibey] How can a cease-fire agreement be supervised without the necessary mechanism. Observers from Turkey, Russia, and France should investigate cease-fire violations in the region. They should establish which side violates the cease-fire. A commission should be established to supervise the cease-fire agreement.

[HURRIYET] Are you suggesting that an international commission be established?

[Elchibey] Yes, that is what we understand from the word mechanism. A commission should be established to act as an observer. The observers must be deployed in Karabakh's towns.

[HURRIYET] Can you comment on the outcome of the joint Kozyrev-Cetin initiative?

[Elchibey] Everyone must work to achieve that objective, including Foreign Ministers Andrey Kozyrev, Hikmet Cetin, and Tofik Gasymov and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The problem cannot be solved if only a few individuals are involved.

[HURRIYET] Cetin and Kozyrev will visit Baku and Yerevan. What do you expect from their visits?

[Elchibey] I expect the tension to subside and the ground to be paved for a cease-fire.

[HURRIYET] Will you meet [Armenian] President Ter-Petrosyan?

[Elchibey] How can we impose a cease-fire agreement if Ter-Petrosyan objects? What is important is the imposition of a cease-fire, not my talks with him. We may not meet.

[HURRIYET] What is needed for a cease-fire to be reached?

[Elchibey] A timetable has to be drawn up for the cease-fire. A cease-fire agreement cannot be imposed without it. The presidents of the United States, Russia, and Turkey, or their prime ministers or foreign ministers, may attend the talks. Furthermore, they may guarantee any agreement reached. Considering that the fighting might resume, they may have a provision included in the agreement that they are guarantor powers.

[HURRIYET] Does that mean you prefer broader participation? Would Turkey and Russia not be enough?

[Elchibey] The United States should also be included. A tripartite guarantee would be sufficient.

[HURRIYET] Would the problem not be solved if the United States refuses to be a guarantor power? Are you insisting that the United States agree to be a guarantor country?

[Elchibey] The United States is an influential country. There is an influential Armenian lobby there. In view of this, it can use its influence on the Armenians. France can also adopt an effective approach because it has a strong influence on the Armenians.

[HURRIYET] Can you comment on the supply of humanitarian aid to Armenia through Turkey?

[Elchibey] I am not upset with the countries that have given Armenia humanitarian aid. Regarding the transit of aid to Armenia through Turkey, I believe that that concerns Turkey's policy. As far as Azerbaijan is concerned, how can Turkey be an independent country if it fails to adopt its own policy? Stopping sustenance is an act of savagery. However, the supply of electricity to Armenia is a debatable issue, which must be discussed. If electricity is to be given to Armenia, then Nakhichevan should also be considered. The United States continues to aid Armenia. However, it has suspended its aid to Azerbaijan. How can that be explained? Armenia is the aggressor. Nevertheless, the United States has imposed an embargo on Azerbaijan and decided to maintain its humanitarian aid to Armenia. Why should humanitarian aid be given only to Armenia and not to Azerbaijan? If humanitarian aid is to be given, then it should be given to both republics. The current situation indicates that the world favors Armenia.

## Kamberov Press Conference on Internal, Foreign Policy

*NC1103155593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1241 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Baku, Mar 11 (SNARK)—Today Isa Kamberov, speaker of the Azerbaijani Parliament has undertaken press-conference on problems connected with internal and foreign policy of the state. Answering the TURAN news agency's question on the influence of the latest events taking place in Russia on the situation in Azerbaijan, Isa Kamberov said that such events can cause negative factors in the social, political and economic life of Azerbaijan. Speaking on the possibility of the Azerbaijani entrance to the CIS Kamberov has mentioned that Azerbaijani isn't going to enter CIS but, probably, will enter the Economic Cooperation Council of the CIS. As for the internal political problems Isa Kamberov is of the opinion that the Azerbaijani leadership met with the attempts of some forces to stir up new conflict between nations at the north of Azerbaijan. As for the relations with Dagestan, it has been mentioned that an additional set of agreements on nations relations and economic is prepared. Kamberov has denied the reports issued by "MAYAK" radio station on the possibility of recognition of the Nagorno-Karabakh republic. "We can recognize only cultural autonomy," Isa Kamberov has underlined.

## Discusses Domestic Issues

*NC1103220893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, held a press conference today. He replied to the questions from the republic's mass media and foreign journalists, briefing them on the social and political situation and matters related to the reforms in the social and economic fields. Kamberov explained [words indistinct] several laws enacted by the National Assembly. Referring to the law on the use of Turkish as the official language, he said that it has been interpreted in various ways by the people because it has not been properly explained. [passage indistinct]

Regarding the government's preparation for the elections, Kamberov said the election law was published in the press and asserted that talks are being held on the matter. Every effort will be made to hold elections as soon as possible. Regarding Azerbaijan's foreign policy, Kamberov said that cooperation with Russia, Iran, and Turkey in various fields must be improved.

Kamberov also replied to several questions on the present situation in the republic.

## Welcomes Efforts for Peace

*LD1103214393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2118 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By AZERTAC-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku March 12 TASS—"The leadership of Azerbaijan highly estimates peace-making efforts of Turkey and Russia on the settlement of the Karabakh conflict," Isa Kamberov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, told a news conference on Thursday [11 March]. He noted a constructive approach of Turkey and Russia to the settlement of this complex problem, stressing that "consensus between the confronting sides may be achieved through a negotiating process within the framework of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)."

According to the head of parliament, the Russo-Turkish peaceful initiatives were earlier discussed in Baku during the stay there of Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin after his meeting in Moscow with his Russian counterpart Andrey Kozyrev. In the near future "we expect more specific proposals of the mediators on the relaxation of tension in the zone of the Karabakh conflict and its political settlement," Isa Kamberov said.

Positively assessing the results of the Rome meeting, at the same the parliamentary speaker denied reports in a number of foreign news media alleging the "readiness of Azerbaijan to start direct talks with the so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Republic." Talks between all parties concerned, including those involved in combat actions, can be conducted only within the framework of the Minsk group of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe on the settlement of the conflict, the parliamentary speaker elaborated. In this connection Isa Kamberov reminded that representatives of Azeri and Armenian communities of Nagorno-Karabakh take part in sessions of the Minsk group of the CSCE.

### Comments on Dagestan Uprising

*OW1103194393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1910 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Demonstrations by the Lezgin community which took place in the beginning of March in the regional center of Kusari in northern Azerbaijan—an area populated by Lezgin—were organized by individuals who came from Dagestan (a Russian Federation republic). Head of the Azerbaijani parliament Isa Kamberov announced this at a press conference Thursday [11 March] in Baku. He said the events' organizers, activists from the Sadval organization, deliberately pursued provocational goals, trying to organize uprisings which would have resulted in the deaths of members of the Lezgin community. The demonstrations were held to oppose the draft of Lezgins into the Azerbaijani national army.

According to Kamberov, the Azerbaijani leadership is currently conducting intensive discussions with Dagestan leaders, and apparently the parties will sign "an agreement on a wide range of issues" in the near future. The parliamentary chairman stressed that Azerbaijan is in favor of friendly relations with all countries of the region, including Russia, and does not want to aggravate relations.

### Turkish Foreign Minister's News Conference Detailed

*NC1103140093 Yerevan SNARK in English 0539 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Baku, March 11 (SNARK)—Hikmet Cetin, foreign minister of Turkey, said at the press-conference that he is deeply satisfied with the results of the conversations with the Azerbaijani President Abulfaz Elchibey. There were discussed ways of peaceful regulation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Cetin announced the Turkish attempts of the Karabakh conflict political regulation are not the alternative to the CSCE efforts to solve the problem. On the contrary, the Ankara policy course should be understood only as the support to the Rome negotiations. Ceasing the fire is the main task. Otherwise it is absolutely impossible to begin next stage—setting the group of international observers in the zone of the conflict. Cetin informed of the agreement on the program of ceasing the fire, then Cetin and Kozyrev are supposed to introduce the program in Baku and Yerevan. Russia and Turkey are against the force changes of the state border and the ethnic purges on the war territories. Answering the question on the position of Russia (Russia troops are in the zone of the conflict) Cetin said that Kozyrev understands danger of the Karabakh events—that's why it is difficult not to believe him. At the same time there are forces deeply interested in the development of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. Cetin underlined that the Azerbaijani president expressed his content with the fact that the Turkish policy course should correspond to the obligations Turkey has before the aliens and the world community. In connection with this statement the official Baku understands the readiness Turkey expresses sending the humanitarian aid for Armenia through its territory.

At the same time Cetin announced Turkey and Azerbaijan are "brothers" and Turkey is not going to undertake such course of policy which will contradict to the interest of Azerbaijan.

Tofik Gasymov, the Azerbaijani foreign minister, told to the journalists that they shouldn't be against the humanitarian aid Armenia receives from the world community through the territory of Turkey because this humanitarian aid is being sent for the peaceful population who suffers from the horrors of the war. According to Gasymov, the result of the Rome negotiations was signing the agreement on the international observers' arrival to the zone of the conflict. There are discussing words connected with the distribution of the observers and the control over the events taking place in the zone. According to Tofik Gasymov, next stage after ceasing the fire will be the discussion of the Nagorno-Karabakh status. It is necessary to call up the Minsk meeting to discuss the Karabakh status.

### Iranian Envoy Gives Velayati Letter to Aliyev

*NC1103221293 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Supreme Assembly, has received the Iranian consul general in Nakhichevan. The consul general conveyed a letter from Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati to Geydar Aliyev. The two officials discussed matters of mutual interest. It has been reported that the two sides have approved the education of 100 students in Iran and agreed that Iran should allow doctors from Nakhichevan to work in Iran.

## Georgia

### Russian Officers Reportedly Assist Abkhazians

*OW1103165093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A team of Russian officers is engaged by Abkhazians to plan the capture of the whole of Abkhazia, an Interfax correspondent was told by informed military sources in Tbilisi.

The sources claim that the Russian plan to move artillery, armor, and paratrooper units into the war zone to carry this plan through.

The intelligence gathered by Georgians suggests that the offensive will advance from the Gumista river and the village of Shroma on Sukhumi and from the villages of Atara, Tamysh, and Kochara and the town of Tkvarcheli towards the sea.

According to Georgian military sources, all-terrain vehicles have for a long time been moving along a mountain road between the right bank of the Gumista and the town of Tkvarcheli delivering arms and ammunition to Abkhazians. All other roads in that area have been mined by Abkhazians.

Thus far Interfax could not confirm or disprove the reports of a possible Abkhazian offensive or participation of Russian troops in its preparation. Russian top military officials have repeatedly emphasized that Russian military units in the war zone are neutral and do not join in the hostilities on either side.

### Defense Ministry Sanatorium Attacked

*LD1103172893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Last night a Russian Defense Ministry sanatorium in Sukhumi came under intensive fire from Grad installations by Georgian government troops. This was reported by the press service of the Abkhaz parliament. Fighting continues between Georgian troops and Abkhaz guerillas in Ochamchira region of Abkhazia. Both sides are suffering heavy losses.

### Remove Fighter Unit From Marneuli

*AU1203095193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Russia has removed the Su-25 fighter aircraft unit located at the Marneuli air base. Marneuli was the last military installation, if one does not include Bombora Airport [near Gudauta, Abkhazia], where there were still [Russian] planes. Of the eight military bases in Georgia, [Russian] planes remain only at Bombora Airport in the Abkhaz region.

### Abkhazians Reportedly Fire on Front Line Army Positions

*LD1103151393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1452 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[By ITAR-TASS string correspondent Nugzar Kereselidze]

[Text] Sukhumi March 11 TASS—The press centre of the Georgian Armed Forces headquarters, stationed in Abkhazia, reported today the Abkhazian side has activized combat actions along the front line by opening fire on positions of the Georgian Army. The enemy firing positions were silenced by replying to the fire, the report said.

Fighting was reported to have continued in OchamchirA area near the village of Labra where Georgian Armed Forces are pressing ahead with their counterattack which they began the day before and have considerably moved further.

The Abkhazian side, according to the report, has lost some 40 men and one unit of military hardware. The Georgian Armed Forces also lost nine troops.

### Suffer 'Significant Losses'

*AU1203085093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0448 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] This morning we spoke with Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Soso Margishvili, head of the press center of the Defense Staff of the Georgian Armed Forces located in Abkhazia.

He informed us that yesterday, throughout the day, positional battles continued at the Gumista River and took on a permanent character.

Confrontations continued near the village of Labra in Ochamchira rayon. The enemy again suffered significant losses.

The night passed off relatively quietly on the Abkhaz front. It is quiet in Sukhumi.

### Train With Gasoline, Food for Abkhazia Blocked

*OW1103133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1139 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On March 10, in the west of Georgia, supporters of Georgia's ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia blocked a train with gasoline and food stuffs for Abkhazia, the Georgian Interior Ministry's press center informed Interfax.

The railway was blocked after the Zviadists returned from the Abkhazian city of Gali, where they had tried to organize a meeting of protest against the policies pursued by the current Georgian authorities. The meeting was dispersed by policemen who shot in the air.

On the same day representatives of the Sukhumi public and commanders of the Georgian army went to Zugdidi to settle the conflict.

### Shevardnadze Visit to Sukhumi Criticized

*PM1103124593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 93 First Edition p 1*

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Visit to Sukhumi Raises Eduard Shevardnadze's Prestige, but Does Not Reduce the Severity of the Conflict"]

[Excerpt] Eduard Shevardnadze left for Sukhumi with the firm intention of meeting there an expected attack by Abkhaz formations, which, according to agency reports, was scheduled for 4 March—the anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Abkhazia.

The attack did not take place. But it is indisputable that Shevardnadze's visit to Sukhumi certainly strengthened his prestige. Dressed in the combat fatigues of U.S. commandos (the Georgian Army recently received a large consignment of this dress), Shevardnadze appeared in the most unexpected, at times mortally dangerous places, conversed at length with soldiers and the local population, and received reports from the commanders of combined combat units. It was in every way apparent that the role of supreme commander in chief of Georgian troops suits him no less than every other role he has performed in the past.

The propaganda goal of the visit to Sukhumi was undoubtedly accomplished. As for the practical results in the shape of a political settlement to the conflict, Shevardnadze stated that he had had no direct contacts with the Gudauta leaders but that there had been contacts at other levels, and expressed confidence that Georgian-Abkhazian dialogue is inevitable and that the prerequisites for this are already maturing in Abkhazia.

However, evil tongues in the Georgian parliament are saying that the true goal of Shevardnadze's visit to Sukhumi was the desire to avoid parliamentary debates on the issue of relations with Russia on the eve of the fourth round of Russian-Georgian talks. He allowed Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze to be torn to pieces by radically minded deputies, releasing steam from a parliamentary cauldron on the point of explosion as a result of recent events. Having thereby gained time, Shevardnadze received as a trump card the U.S. Government's statement of unconditional support for Georgia on the question of its territorial integrity and its concern over Russia's policy toward Georgia. [passage omitted]

### Batiashvili: Forces Trying To 'Overthrow' Government

*AU1203103193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Text] Irakli Batiashvili, chairman of the Georgian Information and Intelligence Service, stated at yesterday's session of parliament that certain circles in Georgia, supported by foreign forces, are trying by various means to draw the government into a crisis and subsequently to overthrow it. He refrained from giving concrete details, but stated that the Intelligence Service was taking all measures to halt such actions.

### State Council Adopts Citizenship Law 11 Mar

*LD1103214893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] The Georgian parliament has adopted the Citizenship Law at its first reading. Any inhabitant of the Republic, irrespective of his nationality and creed, who has lived on the territory of the Republic not less than five years can become a citizen of Georgia. No knowledge of the Georgian language is necessary to obtain citizenship. All citizens of Georgia, irrespective of their nationality, enjoy equal rights.

## Estonia

### Opposition Criticizes Government Concessions to Russia

*OW1103182593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1725 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] By approving the law on territorial waters, Estonia has deprived itself of a trump card in negotiation with Russia, leader of the large centrist opposition faction Aarvo Junti said at a news conference on Thursday [11 March] to comment on the house vote the day before.

Junti said that Russia rather than Estonia stood to benefit from the law's provision for a four-mile limit or even less in the Gulf of Finland instead of the usual 12-mile limit. He said that certain concessions should have been wrung out of Russia in bilateral talks before allowing it an outlet into the Baltic Sea.

### Defense Minister Supports Policy of 'Total Defense'

*OW1003195993 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1857 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The underlying principle of Estonia's defense policy is "total defense" which envisages joint activities of the population, state structures, and armed forces in securing peace and repelling enemy invasions, Hain Rebas, Defense Minister, said at a news conference in Tallinn on Wednesday [10 March] when he commented on the fundamentals of Estonia's State Defense.

Numerous defense-related agencies have contributed to this document. Foreign and Interior Ministry personnel also took part.

On Monday the document was submitted to Ulo Nugis, State Assembly Chairman.

The defense minister made it clear that the document must be discussed in parliament and may become the core of extensive legislation and a specific plan of strengthening the country's defenses.

### Armed Forces To Purchase Weapons of 'NATO Standards'

*WS1103132593 Tallinn BNS in English 2155 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Tallinn, Mar 10, BNS—Estonia's armed forces take the NATO standards as basis when purchasing weapons. The new weapons are to be received in a few month's time, the country's top defense officials said in a press conference.

"I believe that in a couple of months we can show the new weapons in the arsenal of the defense forces and the Defense Union (militia)," said the chief of General Staff of the Estonian army, Ants Laaneots.

Defense Minister Hain Rebas said the Estonian forces will make a full transition to NATO standards in weaponry.

Rebas and Laaneots declined to further comment of the arms purchase, referring to what they called "confidential character" of the negotiations.

Laaneots said the defense forces are paying main attention to obtaining handguns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons. No armoured vehicles are to be bought this year. Money for the arms purchase will come from the state budget.

Rebas added that all of the military in the country's defense forces as well as the Defense Union militiamen by now have weapons. "The Estonian armed forces will be fully motorized and provided with radio equipment in the near future," the minister said.

## Latvia

### National Finance Inspection Head Briefs Supreme Council

*WS1103152093 Riga LETA in English 1255 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] Riga, March 11 (LETA)—Jurijs Pupcenoks, head of the Main National Finance Inspection, on Wednesday [10 March] plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Latvia submitted a report on performance of his institution. According to Jurijs Pupcenoks, due to the efforts of experts on finance inspection of the Latvian Republic the income part of the national budget during the first half of 1992 is carried out by 110.8 per cent. The income part of the budget during the second half of 1992 is carried out by 100.2 percent. In the view of the fact that the national budget had been carried out, large sums were being accumulated in calculated but unpaid debts for tax payments. The sum of those debts amounted to 4.2 billion roubles by the end of 1992.

Finance inspection has stepped up its activities in the beginning of 1993, however, in order to secure the utmost efficiency, the inspection has suggested amendments to criminal legislature, providing for taking charges for keeping back information of one's profits and eluding tax payments.

According to Jurijs Pupcenoks, the finance inspection has also submitted a suggestion to calculate and cash in an excize tax strait on the border. Amendments to a legislature on taxes and dues in the Republic of Latvia are also being prepared. The amendments would provide that the finance inspection should be informed about deals settled in cash if the amount of money involved exceeds 500 minimum wages.

Parliamentarians decided to continue debate on performance of the finance inspection next week, when a bill on improving work of the finance inspection was due to be discussed in the parliament.

### Only Citizens To Be Conscripted During April Campaign

*OW1103141293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1140 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking over the national radio on March 11, Aleksandrs Doniks, the chief of Latvian Defense Ministry's State service and mobilization department, announced that only the citizens of the Latvian Republic, registered by Citizenship and Emigration Department, will be called up to Defense Forces during the conscript campaign scheduled for April 1. However, permanent residents of the Latvian republic who are not its citizens can be called up to serve on their own will presenting a private statement.

Aleksanders Doniks told our Baltfax correspondent that the wish of non-citizens to serve in the army "will be taken into consideration during the naturalization" when Latvia's Seima adopts a corresponding decree.

### Group Charges Gorbunovs With 'Genocide' Against Nation

*WS1103133293 Tallinn BNS in English 2201 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Riga, Mar 10, BNS—A group of private persons charged parliament's Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs with genocide policies against the Latvian nation.

The indictment accused Gorbunovs of forcing Communist ideas on the Latvian people and collaborating with occupants in Russification of the Latvian nation and encouragement of immigration.

Authors of the documents said Gorbunovs was continuing to support similar policies at the parliament.

Senior aide to the prosecutor general, Rita Aksenoka, is commissioned to deal with the indictment.

Aksenoka told BNS she had already directed an answer to authors of the document, explaining that only the court had the powers to convict.

Moreover, there is no law on genocide in Latvia. A person may be tried for genocide only after adoption of a respective law, she said.

Similarly, an indictment is drawn up by authorized officials after a case is investigated and the evidence collected.

The document in question also is wrongly made with a view of legal standards, she added.

The original of the indictment was submitted to the country's Prosecutor General Janis Skrastins, copies directed to the parliament's legislative committee, the Satversme faction and the Supreme Court.

## Lithuania

### New Prime Minister Comments on Policies, Tasks

#### 'Economic Collapse' Imminent

*WS1103131593 Tallinn BNS in English 2155 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Vilnius, Mar 10, BNS—Adolfas Slezevicius, Lithuania's newly appointed Prime Minister, says Lithuania is on the verge of an economic collapse and the primary task for the government is to work out a complex of measures to stabilize the economy.

Slezevicius said that a priority direction of government activities is "maximum attraction of foreign investments."

The new Premier told Lithuanian radio that the country's fiscal policy should have "a clear concept, attractive to investors from abroad." He also spoke for a well organized economic-financial system, "to make it clear to investors—which structure is responsible for this or that issue."

The Premier mentioned the need to stimulate small and medium business "to make businessmen feel the support of the government." According to Slezevicius, part of the investments should be directed towards this.

The Prime Minister said that investments should also be used for major projects such as to build an oil terminal, to solve problems in agriculture, food industry, etc.

Slezevicius once again spoke for continuity of government activities and confirmed intentions to retain part of the previous cabinet.

#### Stresses Economic Reforms

*LD1103170993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius by unidentified correspondent on 11 March—recorded]

[Text] [Slezevicius] The most important thing at the moment is to help families survive, somehow.

[Correspondent] How are you going to do it in specific terms?

[Slezevicius] I think the government's first effort should be directed in this direction. We have discussed with [former Prime Minister] Mr. Lubys the idea that the

subsidies which have thus far been budgeted for agriculture should be used for subsidies, that is, to compensating people for the cost of agricultural produce. In my opinion, these means should be used to support poor people, to increase wages and so on. This means that agricultural producers will get a higher purchase price and that this will be compensated for by wage increases.

[Correspondent] What economic future do you predict for us?

[Slezevicius] I do not think there any kind of oracle anywhere which could confidently make a prediction like that. It is clear that the republic's economy is in the most difficult situation in all respects. During the past three year, 50 percent of our industrial output and almost half our agricultural output has been lost, and this is not yet the end of recession because the scale of destruction has been such that it will take many long years to eliminate the consequences. The transition from large-size farms to small-size private farms is impossible in a short time.

Some opponents have said that I favor collective farming. I have never said that. I said only that it is impossible to perform miracles in Lithuania. For 50 years all efforts and all capital was directed to creating big farming enterprises. We simply cannot ignore the reality which exists. Therefore, restructuring farming will take a long time and, of course, we have to be realistic about it. There is no doubt that private farming is more promising than the collective system.

[Correspondent] I think we will have an opportunity to talk about serious problems, because I think you will be in your new post for many, many years, and this is what I wish to you. However, today is a holiday. What are your thoughts on such a day, Lithuania's Independence Day? What would you like to wish the people of Lithuania?

[Slezevicius] First of all, of course, I would like to extend my congratulations to all the people on this wonderful holiday. Three years ago we were in an absolutely different situation. Now we are a state recognized by the world. It is regrettable that on such a day we have to speak about our problems, but then, of course, we live here with all our problems. How quickly we solve these problems depends on all of us. The future is in our hands.

### Not To Replace Key Ministers

*OW1203121693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1102 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's new prime minister Adolfas Slezevicius will not replace the key ministers. He announced during the first press conference following his appointment, that the foreign minister and the ministers of finance and national defence will retain their portfolios. To quote Slezevicius, he will send the list of new ministers to the president early next week.

He said that he would continue to implement economic reforms, but noted that the reforms should be adjusted and made more pragmatic.

Speaking about Lithuania's relations with Russia and the CIS, he said that they should be broadened on the basis of the principle of mutual advantage. The rupture of long-established contacts with those states would involve enormous outlays, he said.

### Butkevicius on 'Unsanctioned' Movement of Russian Soldiers

*WS1103132093 Tallinn BNS in English 2158 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Vilnius, Mar 10, BNS—Lithuanian Minister of Defense Audrius Butkevicius has asked the Lithuanian Foreign Affairs Ministry to inform Russia about cases of unsanctioned movement of Russian servicemen on Lithuania's territory, daily Tiesa reported.

According to the newspaper, such movement has become quite frequent on Moscow-Vilnius-Kaliningrad trains. Four Russian soldiers were "taken off" a train March 5, but they managed to escape. Seven Russian soldiers were detained March 6.

### Landsbergis Warns of Growing Russian Threat

*OW1103140693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1140 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian parliamentary opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis has again warned of the danger posed by Russia, where, he said, "imperialist, bolshevist, and openly fascist forces are gathering strength." In an interview with the newspaper TIESA, he expressed the opinion that these forces could eventually "unite with the military-industrial complex and change Russia's policy" with respect to Lithuania. While the Russian army is still in Lithuania, this tendency is "twice as dangerous," said Landsbergis.

The opposition leader emphasized that one could not allow "militaristic and imperialistic forces in Russia" the hope that they currently have a good chance of completely subordinating Lithuania.

### Social Democrats Say Talk of Split Groundless

*WS1203090093 Vilnius ELTA in Lithuanian 1334 GMT 9 Feb 93*

[Text] On 9 March, the LSDP [Lithuanian Social Democratic Party] Seimas faction and the LSDP Presidium noted at a press conference that there was no danger of a split in the party. There has been some talk only about the possible formation of a faction. Seimas deputies

Audrius Rudys, Vytautas Pleckaitis, and LSDP Presidium members Alfonsas Brazas and Arvydas Akstinavicius discussed the situation in the party and its proposals.

They stated that the LSDP Council meeting held on 6 March had been heated but productive. It showed that some members had different views about certain political and economic issues. The meeting also revealed that common solutions could be found. The speakers noted that the talks about the split were the attempts of some forces to split the social democratic movement. Brazas stressed that the Council meeting had concentrated on the implementation of the LSDP program and that there had been no talk of a "split" at all.

The next LSDP Congress is planned for 22 May which will also elect a new council.

### World Bank Willing To Help Agricultural Sector

*LD1103200393 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1510 GMT 11 Mar 93*

[Text] ELTA has just reported that a delegation from the World Bank which has been working in Lithuania for two weeks was received today by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas.

The grave situation in Lithuanian agriculture was pointed out at the meeting. The World Bank representatives pointed out that a project for a loan to support Lithuanian agriculture would be made urgently. A special mission from the World Bank will arrive in Lithuania in May.

The World Bank representatives in Lithuania have formed a comprehensive picture of the situation of our economic situation. The shortcomings in the systems of banking and finance were pointed out as serious; it was stressed that a single center is needed in Lithuania which could monitor how the loan is being used. A system of preparing projects for loans also should be set up.

It became clear during the conversation that the World Bank is going to grant a loan of $60 million to strengthen the Lithuanian economy.

### Energy Prices To Be Freed in 'Near Future'

*OW1203121893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1102 GMT 12 Mar 93*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania intends to introduce free energy prices in the near future, according to an announcement by provisional acting government head Bronislovas Lubys. In a Thursday [11 March] speech on national television, he said that the measure would not bring about sharp price increases, since a significant quantity of energy already reached the republic "through commercial channels."

Lubys believes it unrealistic to think that Lithuania could attain full independence while it has no terminal for receiving oil from the West. At the same time, he noted that Lithuania now has no sources of natural gas and oil other than Russia. Lubys said that Lithuania's debt to Russia for energy deliveries is over 10 billion of the country's temporary currency coupons, of which there are 470 to the dollar.

The Lubys government took office on 26 February. The republic's newly-named prime minister, Adolfas Slezevicus, must appoint his cabinet within 15 days.